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MARTIN McNAMARA

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM TO THE PENTATEUCH

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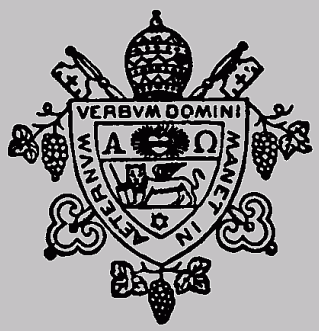

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THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM TO THE PENTATEUCH

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E PONTIFICIO INSTITUTO BIBLICO
1978

MARTIN McNAMARA, M.S C.
PROFESSOR OF SACRED SCRIPTURE
MILLTOWN INSTITUTE OF THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY
DUBLIN - IRELAND

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TO MY BROTHER MICHAEL

FOREWORD

The theme of the present dissertation was chosen back in 1957, and material for its composition has been collected from then on. A certain number of studies on targumic matters have been presented to the reading public since then. When the time came to give a final redaction to the material gathered for the present work it transpired that some earlier scholars had already come on some of the parallels and conclusions reached in this thesis. In the course of this work we present such parallels under the name of the research worker who has first put his findings before the public. There are other occasions, however, when we found that targumic texts put forward as parallels to NT passages by more recent writers were already perceived by earlier students.

In targumic studies this is but to be expected. The field is a restricted one and targumic parallels to the NT can easily be seen by students interested in both bodies of literature. The lack of tradition in targumic studies, coupled by the absence of a good targumic bibliography, explain how later scholars can, at times, remain unaware of the findings of their predecessors. A desire to overcome, in some little way, this lacuna has led us to cite the works of earlier writers as much as possible. Regrettably, it has been possible to do this far less than we would have wished.

We wish here to acknowledge the help received from various quarters in the process of collecting material for and redacting the present work. We thank the Biblical Institute for the foundation it gave in biblical studies and for the preparation that made the approach to Aramaic texts possible. We wish to thank it likewise for the use of its complete and invaluable library. We also desire to record our indebtedness to the authorities of the Library of the British Museum and of the National Library and of Trinity College Library, Dublin. To our confrere, Dr. Alejandro Díez Macho of the University of Barcelona, we owe a debt of gratitude for his advice and for putting his fine collection of targumic material at our disposal during the Summer of 1963.

A very special word of thanks must go to Fr. Stanislas Lyonnet S.J., the director of this dissertation. In his classes at the Biblical Institute

he taught what the most recent studies had to say on the Targums and the light which this neglected source can throw on New Testament problems. In the final redaction of this thesis he proved himself an interested, accessible and helpful, but exacting, moderator. For this last-mentioned quality we are especially grateful. Were it not for it the present work would be markedly inferior to whatever merit it may now have.

Finally, we wish to record our thanks to our religious superiors, in particular to the Very Rev. Fr P. BREEN, M.S.C., the present provincial of the Irish Province, and to his predecessors, Very Rev. Fr M. G. O'LEARY, M.S.C. and Rev. Fr R. SCRIVEN, M.S.C. who have been liberal in their permissions and help for the pursuit of biblical studies at Rome and elsewhere.

To these, to my students who generously helped in the correction of the proofs, and to all others who have helped in any way in the compilation of this work, sincerest thanks.

Moyne Park,
Co. Galway,
Ireland.
November, 1965

MARTIN J. MCNAMARA, M.S.C.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	= Amora
AJSL	= *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AngTheolRev	= *The Anglican Theological Review*
ARN	= *Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan*
b	= Babylonian Talmud (followed by tractate)
BA (...)	= Babylonian Amora (followed by generation)
BA	= *Biblical Archaeologist*
BabBat	= *Baba Batra*
BabMeṣ	= *Baba Meṣi'a*
BASOR	= *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Ber	= Tractate *Berakot*
Bib	= *Biblica*
BibVC	= *Bible et Vie chrétienne*
BelJud	= *Bellum Judaicum* of JOSEPHUS
BJ	= Bible de Jérusalem
BJRL	= *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BZ	= *Biblische Zeitschrift*
CBQ	= *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	= *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*
CC	= *Corpus Christianorum*
CS	= *Cahiers Sioniens*
DB	= *Dictionnaire de la Bible.*
DBS	= *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*
DD	= The Damascus Document
De Gig.	= *De Gigantibus* of PHILO
Dem. Evang.	= *Demonstratio Evangelica*
DJD	= *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*
EB	= *Encyclopaedia Biblica* of CHEYNE and BLACK
EJ	= *Encyclopaedia Judaica*
EncBrit	= *Encyclopaedia Britannica*
EstEcles	= *Estudios Eclesiásticos*
ET	= *Expository Times*
ETL	= *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*
Ex. R.	= *Exodus Rabba*
GCS	= *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jhdte.*
Gen. R.	= *Genesis Rabba*

GJV = *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*
GöttGelAnz = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*
GV = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*

HDB = Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*
HJP = *The History of the Jews in the Time of Christ* (an English translation of *GJV*)
HTR = *Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA = *The Hebrew Union College Annual*

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*

JA = *Jewish Antiquities of* JOSEPHUS
JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*
JE = *Jewish Encyclopedia*
Jer. = The Palestinian Talmud (followed by tractate)
JfPT = *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*
JG = *Der jüdische Gottesdienst* of I. ELBOGEN
JJS = *Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JournRel = *The Journal of Religion*
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies*

LAB = *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of PSEUDO-PHILO
LTK = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*
LXX = Septuagint

M = Mishnah
Magazin = *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
MdW = *Masoreten des Westens*, II
Meg. = Tractate *Megillah*
MGWJ = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
Midr. Ps. = *The Midrash on Psalms*
MS(S) = Manuscript(s)
MT = Masoretic Text

N = Neofiti I
NF = Neue Folge
Ngl = Glosses to N
NS = New Series
NT = New Testament
NT = *Novum Testamentum*

O = Onkelos
Or = *Orientalia*
OT = Old Testament

PaulyW = *Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* of A. F. PAULY - G. WISSOWA
PG = *Patrologia Graeca* of MIGNE
PL = *Patrologia Latina* of MIGNE
PRE = *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*
PT = Palestinian Targum
PTG = Fragments of the PT from the Cairo Geniza

R. = Rabbi
RB = *Revue biblique*
Realenzyklopädie = *Real-Enzyklopädie für protestant. Theologie* of A. HAUCK
REJ = *Revue des études juives*
RSPT = *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSR = *Recherches de science religieuse*

Spec. Leg. = *De specialibus Legibus* of PHILO
Str.-B. = STRACK-BILLERBECK'S *Kommentar zum N.T.*

T = Tanna (followed by generation)
Tg(s) = Targum(s)
TheolBlätt = *Theologische Blätter*
ThRu = *Theologische Rundschau*
TJI = The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan
TJII = The Fragment Targum
TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TWNT = *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* of KITTEL
TZ = *Theologische Zeitschrift*

UJE = *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*

Vat. Ebr. 30 = The MS Vatican Ebraico 30
VD = *Verbum Domini*
VerCaro = *Verbum Caro*
Vg = Vulgate
VM = *Vita Mosis* of PHILO
VT(S) = *Vetus Testamentum* (*Supplements*)

WJ = *Die Worte Jesu* of G. DALMAN
WT = *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumin* of J. LEVI
WTM = *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* of J. LEVI

ZAW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft*
ZHB = *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*
ZKT = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZNW = *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZWT = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

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THE NEW TESTAMENT

AND THE

PALESTINIAN TARGUM TO THE PENTATEUCH

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF SKETCH OF TARGUMIC STUDIES [1]

I. The Problem

Even a cursory reading of the Tgs — in particular of the Palestinian Tg to the Pentateuch in its twofold form, Pseudo-Jonathan (TJI) and the Fragment-Targum (TJII) — reveals that in language and content they contain striking parallels to the NT. We encounter in them such NT expressions as "the Second Death", "God, our Father who is in Heaven", and "the Word (*Memra*) of the Lord". They speak repeatedly of the Messiah, of the After-life, Gehenna and Paradise. On the other hand, the presence of later references (such as for example, to Abisha and Fatima, the wife and daughter of Mohammed [TJI Gn 21,21], to Constantinople [TJI Nm 24,24], to the six orders of the Mishnah [TJI Ex 26,9]) makes their use in any scientific study of Judaism and Christian origins suspect. The problem that confronts the student is how determine which elements are recent and which early; whether the bulk of Targumic material — in particular that of the PT — is old with some recent additions or *vice versa*.

This problem was sensed and expressed very clearly by Brian WALTON. In the *Apparatus* that accompanied his edition of the Tgs in the London Polyglot he devoted Nos. 16-20 of his twelfth *Prolegomenon* to *De Autoritate Paraphraseon Chaldaicarum* [2] and expressed his views on the point in the following manner:

> Infinita sunt loca ubi Verbo [i.e. *Memra*] Dei multa adscribuntur quasi personae distinctae. De Christo, sive Messiae per-

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[1] A Brief survey of Jewish studies among Christians can be seen in G. F. MOORE, "Christian Writers on Judaism", *HTR* 14 (1921) 197-254; ("To the end of the 18th century", pp. 197-221: "The 19th century to the present time", 221-54). For a conspectus of Jewish studies in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries cf. L. ZUNZ, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, pp. 6-21.

[2] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta... cum Apparatu, Appendicibus* ... etc. edidit Brianus WALTON, London 1657 Prolegomenon XII, pp. 81-87 treats of "De lingua Chaldaica, et Targumim, sive paraphrasibus in hac lingua scriptis".

> sona, adventu, officio multa clara testimonia habentur. Loca illa de Messia exponunt quae ad Christum pertinent, licet multum laborent recentiores Rabbini eadem perversa interpretatione detorquere. Vaticinium illud celebre Jacobi Gen. 49,10. *Donec veniat Siloh*, reddunt, *donec veniat Messia*, Onkel. Jonathan, Hieros. Nullum tamen non movent lapidem perfidi Rabbini, ut hoc non ad Messiam pertinere probent, unde in alios sensus trahunt. Jos. Caecus [the reputed author of the Tg to the Hagiographa] clare veritatem vidit, dum Psal. 45 in Paraph. Hagiographorum, de Messia totum exponit, quod Rabbini Josepho caeciores de Salomone tantum intelligi volunt... Isa. 7. 14. *Virgo concipiet*, vocem [sic] עלמא non depravat Jonathan, ut posteriores Rabbini, sed fideliter vertit, nomine ad formam Chaldaicam mutato עלמתא ([3]).

Targumic material, however, must be used with discretion:

> Non tamen omnia in Targum approbanda, sed triticum à Zizaniis, noxia à salutari discernendum ([3a])... In multis locis articulos fidei Christianae confirmant, et contra Judaeos fortissima argumenta suppeditant, quod ex alio fonte proficisci non potuit, quam quod ea scripserant Paraphrastae, quae habuerunt ex antiquis traditionum et expositionum reliquiis quas ex Prophetis hauserunt ([4]).

So much for the Tgs to the Prophets and to the Hagiographa. On the Tg of (PSEUDO-)JONATHAN Brian WALTON writes:

> Majoris momenti est quod multa loca in hoc Targum inveniuntur quae contra Judaeos faciunt ad Christianae religionis illustrationem; sed et hoc in omnibus Targumim est observare, quaedam in eis inveniri pro mysteriis religionis Christianae, ut in illo in Hagiographa, quod tamen ab omnibus multis post Christum seculis ex antiquorum traditionibus et scriptis scriptum habetur. In antiquioribus, Onkeli et Jonathanis plura reperiuntur quam in posterioribus, in his tamen, licet multa depravata fuerint, quaedam tamen, quasi Scholarum Propheticarum rudera relicta sunt, quae in sui Paraphrasibus posuerunt, ita dirigente divina providentia,

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([3]) *L.c.*, no. 18, p. 86.
([3a]) *L.c.*, no. 16, p. 86.
([4]) *Ibid.*, no. 18.

> ut propriis pennis increduli se configerent. Librum itaque hunc, [TJI] non esse Jonathanis mihi certum est, sed post Mischna saltem, ab aliquo qui emendicato Jonathanis nomine auctoritatem Paraphrasi huic conciliare voluit, compositum fuisse (5).

The position of WALTON, then, is quite clear. The Tgs, in particular TJI and TJII, have preserved certain older traditions that go back to the Prophets. The Tgs themselves, however, are compositions dating from later times. We can see from the manner in which the editor of the London Polyglot confronted the problem that the question was seriously discussed in his day. We will understand the matter better when we consider the studies that had been devoted to the subject before his time. A brief indication of the place occupied by the Tgs in later studies on Judaism will show in what present-day Targumic studies differ from those of the seventeenth century.

II. Targumic Studies Prior to the Nineteenth Century

We shall have something to say in later chapters on the bearing of the writings of the Fathers on the Tgs. After the Patristic Age it was the advance of Islamic and Jewish science that necessitated a direct knowledge of Jewish sources in the Western Church. The Tgs were used, together with other Jewish texts, by RAYMUNDUS MARTINUS (d. 1290) in his *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (*ed. princeps* 1651). Serious consideration was given to the Tgs only in the last decades of the fifteenth century and later. 1482 saw the *editio princeps* of O at Bologna. About the same time AEGIDIUS of Viterbo came to Rome to aid his General in the government of his Order — the Augustinians. AEGIDIUS had a passionate interest in Jewish studies in general, and, from *ca.* 1515 onwards, in the Tgs (6). Towards the autumn of 1515 the Jewish scholar ELIAS LEVITA also came to Rome and was soon to commence work under the patronage of AEGIDIUS.

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(5) *O.c.*, no. 11, p. 84.

(6) Cf. M. FITZMAURICE-MARTIN, "The Palaeographical Character of Codex Neofiti 1", *Textus* 3 (1963) 34. The text of AEGIDIUS' letter mentioning this can be seen in G. E. WEIL, *Élie Lévita, Humaniste et Massorète* (1469-1549), Leiden 1963, pp. 80f. On AEGIDIUS, his life and his work, the reader can consult F. X. MARTIN, O.S.A., "The Problem of Giles of Viterbo. A Historiographical Survey", *Augustiniana* 9 (1959) 357-79; 10 (1960) 43-60 and separately in booklet form by the Augustinian Historical Institute, Héverlé-Louvain 1960. I wish to express my thanks to Prof. MARTIN for putting this and other material on AEGIDIUS at my disposal.

Another Jewish scholar who must have been associated with AEGIDIUS ([6a]) at this time was FELIX PRATENSIS. After his conversion from Judaism he became an Augustinian and thereby came under the jurisdiction of AEGIDIUS who from 1506 to his elevation to the Cardinalate in 1517 was Superior General of his Order. In 1517-1518 FELIX published the *editio princeps* of TJII in the Bomberg edition of the Rabbinic Bible. From the same press came the first edition of TJI in 1591. The Polyglots — the first of which, the Complutensian, appeared in 1514-1517 — were to make these texts more easily available to students. The Antwerp Polyglot, or the *Biblia Polyglotta Regia*, was published in 1569-1572; the Paris Polyglot, in 1618-1645; and the London Polyglot in 1653-1657.

The last mentioned and its Latin translations, was destined to become the best known of all the Polyglots. Numerous versions of individual Targumic texts were made by others however ([7]). In 1516 AUGUSTINUS JUSTINIANUS O.P. published a Latin version of the Tg to Psalms ([8]). In 1546 Paul FAGIUS published a Latin translation of Onkelos ([8a]). Between 1550 and 1565 J. MERCIER published Latin versions of the Tgs to individual books ([9]). A Latin rendering of the Tg to Canticles was published

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([6a]) Cf. G. E. WEIL, *Élie Lévita*, pp. 73 ff.

([7]) For a general view of biblical studies during this period see "The Bible in the Reformation: The Hebrew, Greek and Latin Texts of the Bible", in *The Cambridge History of the Bible from the Reformation to the Present Day*, edited by S. L. GREENSLADE, Cambridge 1963, pp. 48 ff.; pp. 538 ff. for bibliography. See also R. CORNELY, *Historia et critica introductio in U.T. libros*, vol. I (Cursus Sacrae Scripturae), Paris 1895, pp. 660 ff.; H. HURTER, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae catholicae*, 3rd rev. ed., 5 vols., Innsbruck 1903-1913. The earlier studies made on the Targums are noted in LELONG-MASCH, *Bibliotheca sacra* and J. WOLF, *Bibliothecae hebraeae*... Part II, book 6, Hamburg 1721, pp. 1135-91.

([8]) In his *Psalterium Octuplum*, Genoa 1615. On this work see QUETIF-ÉCHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum II*, Paris 1721, pp. 98 f.; LELONG-MASCH, I, p. 400; CORNELY, *o.c.*, pp. 666 f. This and the other Aramaic and Latin works of the 16th-17th century on the Targums which we mention in the following notes are now very rare; they have been consulted in the British Museum.

([8a]) *Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia, ex Chaldaeo in Latinum fidelissima versa, additis in singula fere Capita succinctis Annotationibus. Pentateuchus sive Quinque libri Moysi.* Tomus primus [all published], Strasbourg 1546. FAGIUS' life has been written by R. RAUBENHEIMER: *Paul Fagius*, Grünstadt 1957. See also G. E. WEIL, *Élie Lévita*, pp. 238-43. The title page of the version of Onkelos is reproduced by WEIL, *o.c.*, p. 241.

([9]) *Chaldaea Translatio Abdiae et Jonae Prophetarum, Latino Sermone recèns donata, cum scholiis haud poenitendis*, per Johannem Mercerum, Paris 1550, apud

by E. O. SCHRECKENFUCHS in 1553 [10]. J. QUINQUARBOREUS published a Latin rendering of the Tg to Lamentations, with notes, in 1549 and another of the Tgs to Hosea, Joel, Amos, Ruth and Lamentations in 1556 [11].

Martinum Iuuenem; Aramaic text with Latin rendering, in parallel columns; notes at end.

Chaldaea Translatio Haggaei Prophetae, recèns Latinitate donata, cum scholiis haud infrugiferis, per Johannem Mercerum, Paris 1551, apud Iuuenem; same form as preceding.

Chaldaea Jonathae, Uzielis Filii Interpretatio in duodecim Prophetas, diligenter emendata, & punctis iuxta analogiam grammaticam notata, per Ioannem Mercerum Hebraicarum Literarum Professorem Regium. *Hoseas et Ioel cum explicatione locorum obscuriorum Targum per eundem*; Paris 1557, C. Stephanus; the Aramaic texts of Tg Hosea and Joel followed by a Latin explanation of "loca obscuriora".

Chaldaea Interpretatio Amos, Abdiae, et Ionae, punctis iuxta analogiam grammaticam notata, cum varia lectione, per Ioannem Mercerum, linguae Hebraeae Professorem Regium. *Accesserunt eiusdem scholia in loca difficiliora Targhum*; Paris 1557, C. Stephanus; Targums in Aramaic each followed by scholia in Latin.

Chaldaea Interpretatio Michaeae, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophoniae, Haggaei, Zachariae, & Malachiae iuxta analogiam grammaticam notata, diligenter emendata, adiecta etiam exemplarium hinc inde collatorum varia lectione, per Ioannem Mercerum linguae sanctae professorem Regium, Paris 1558, C. Stephanus; Aramaic text without scholia.

Chaldaea Jonathae in sex Prophetas Interpretatio, Michaeam, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophoniam, Zachariam & Malachiam, Latinitate nunc primum donata, & scholiis illustrata, per Iohannem Mercerum, apud C. Stephanum, Paris 1559; Latin rendering and scholia.

Ionathae Vzielis filii... Chaldaea Interpretatio sex Prophetarum, Hoseae, Joelis, Amos, Abdiae, Ionae & Haggaei, per Ioann. Mercerum... Latinè reddita, apud C. Moralium, Paris 1559.

Chaldaea Interpretatio Proverbiorum Salomonis punctis iuxta analogiam grammaticam accurate notata et a mendis repurgata, opere Io. Merceri, Paris 1561, apud C. Moralium; the Aramaic text of the Targum.

Chaldaea Interpretatio Ecclesiastae emendata, & punctis ex analogia grammatices notata, per Io. Mercerum, Hebraicarum literarum professorem Regium, Paris 1562, apud Giul. Moralium; Aramaic text only; occasional variants in margin.

J. MERCERUS (Jean MERCIER) was born at Uzès at the beginning of the 16th cent. He succeeded his teacher, Vatablus, as professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royal in 1546. He later embraced the Reform and withdrew to Venice. He died while on a visit to his birthplace in 1570. Cf. *Le nouveau Larousse illustré,* vol. VI, p. 33.; *Le grand dictionnaire historique de Moreri,* nouvelle et dernière edition; tome VII, Paris 1759, p. 467.

[10] *Targum in Canticum cum versione latina,* Basle 1553.

[11] *Targum, seu paraphrasis Chaldaica in Jeremiae Lamentationes Prophetae, cum annotationibus,* Paris 1549.

Targum, seu paraphrasis Caldaica... Jonathanis Caldaica... in Hoseae, Joelis, et Amosi, gravissimas prophetias, atque etiam in Ruthae historiam et Lamen-

GÉNÉBRARD, the Benedictine Bishop of Aix, had part of the Tg to Joel, in a Latin rendering, published in 1563 [12]. Three years later a Latin rendering of Tg Jonah was published by A. PONTACUS [13]. In 1566 was also published a Latin rendering of the Tg to the Twelve Minor Prophets by J. I. TREMELLIUS, professor of Oriental Languages at Heidelberg [14]. Jacob C. SAMUEL rendered the Tg to the Five Megilloth into German [15], while Spanish renderings of the Tg to Canticles were published a number of times [16]. The seventeenth century also saw Latin translations of various Tgs by P. FIGUEIRO [17], Michael GHISLERIUS [18], Petrus Cos-

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tationes Ieremiae Prophetae incerto authore Caldaeo, nunc primum latinitate donata, interprete I. Quinquarborei... additae sunt etiam eiusdem Quinquarborei in singula capita annotationes non poenitendae etc., Paris 1556.

J. QUINQUARBOREUS (i.e. Jean de CINQUARBRES) was born at Aurillac and studied Hebrew and Syriac under P. Paradis, F. Vatablus and R. de Caligny, professors at the Collège Royal. In 1554 Henry II gave him a chair at the same college to teach Hebrew and Syriac. He died in 1587; cf. *Le grand Dictionnaire de Moreri,* tome III, Paris 1759, pp. 697 f. For other works of his see A. CIORANESCO, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle,* Paris 1959, p. 210, nos. 6676ff.

[12] *Joel Propheta cum Caldaea paraphrasi et commentariis Salomonis Jarhii, Abraham Abn Ezra, et Davidis Kimchi, latine,* G. Genebrardo cum eius ennaratione, Paris 1563.

[13] *Vaticinationes Abdiae, Jonae, Sophoniae, Prophetarum, Caldaea expositione, quatenus variat ab Hebraeo, & commentariis trium insingium Rabbinorum Selomonis Iarhhi, Abraham Aben Ezrae, & Dauidis Kimhhi illustratae,* interprete Ar. Pontaco, Paris 1566, apud Martinum Iuuenem.

A. PONTACUS, i.e. Arnauld de PONTAC († 1605) was Bishop of Bazas.

[14] *Jonathan, filii Uzielis Chaldaea paraphrasis in XII Minores Prophetas latine reddita,* Heidelberg 1566.

[15] *Targum, i.e. paraphrasium Chaldaicarum (incluso sic dicto secundo) in quinque Megillot paraphrasis germanice rythmis libri "Samuelbuch" adjecto glossario Chaldaico-hebraeo.* In Breisgau 1584.

[16] We may instance the Aramaic text and the Judaeo-Spanish translation published in Salonica in 1600; also *Paraphrasis caldayca, en los Cantares de Selomoh; con el texto hebrayco y ladino, traduzida en lengua espanola.* Amsterdam 5446 [1706]; the text in Spanish and Hebrew; the Targum in Spanish only. This was reprinted in 1712. There are other Judaeo-Spanish versions of this Targum from 1533 and 1766. A French rendering of Tg Canticles was made in 1774. It is *Cantiques des Cantiques, avec la paraphrase chaldaïque, et traité d'Aboth ou des Pères de la doctrine, du Chaldaïque et du rabbinique;* auxquels on a ajouté des notes élémentaires. Par Mardochée Venture. Nice.

[17] Published at Lyons 1615.

[18] *Commentarium in Jeremiae Threnos et Targum latine versum,* Lyons 1622-1623.

TUS [19], Samuel BOHLE [20], Jac. GERSCHOVIUS [21], Franc. TAYLERUS (TAYLOR) [22], and Jo. TERENTIUS [23]. The 16th and 17th centuries, of course, also saw the translations of the Targums in the Polyglot Bibles. The Tg of Chronicles was first edited in 1680 and 1683 by M. F. BECK [24] and was published according to another recension by David WILKINS in 1715 [25].

During the same period attention was paid to the language and nature of the Tgs. In 1541 ELIAS LEVITA published his *Meturgeman* [26]. The next major dictionary on targumic material appeared some hundred years later. It was J. BUXTORF's *Lexicon chaldaicum,* published posthumously by the author's son [27]. Though based on the *Aruk* of R. Nathan BEN

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[19] *Targum Kohelet, hoc est caldaica paraphrasis Ecclesiastes, latine facta·* authore Petro Costo. Cui Salomonis Ecclesiastem ex translatione Vulgata adversum posuimus. Accessit epistola in eandem sententiam, Lyons 1554. It was published together with *Typus Messiae* of the same author.

[20] *Malachias, propheta, cum commentariis rabbinorum, disputationibus hebraicis et explicatione.* Rostock 1637. (With Latin version of the Tg).

[21] In *Psalmi, hebraice, chaldaice, syriace, arabice, graece et cum interpretatione.* Rostock, 1643. On GERSCHOVIUS see "GERSCHOW, Jakob" in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie,* vol. 9, pp. 49-52.

[22] *Targum hierosolymitanum in quinque libros Legis.* London 1649. (A Latin rendering of TJII). Also in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, but falsely catalogued as TJI.

Jeremiae vatis Lamentationes e fontibus hebraicis (e Buxtorfii Bibliis) translatae cum paraphrasi chaldaica, massora magna et parva, et Rasi et Ibn Ezra. London 1651.

[23] *Libri Jjobi chaldaice et latine cum notis,* opera et studio Jo. Terenti. Franckeral 1663.

[24] *Paraphrasis chaldaica Chronicorum hactenus inedita, nunc vero e codice MS. antiquo mb Bibl. Rev. ministerii Erfordiensi excripta... cura atque opera M.R.F. Beckii.* Cujus etiam versio latina prodet etc. 2 parts. Hamburg, 1680-1683.

[25] *Paraphrasis chaldaica Chronicorum a MS. Cantabrigensi s. XI descripta ac cum versione latina in lucem emissa* a Davide Wilkins. Amsterdam 1715.

We may add to the above: the Latin rendering to Tg Jonathan to the Prophets made by Conradus PELLICANUS (d. 1556) noted in WOLF, II, 1167; *Paraphrasis Obadiae ex fonte hebraico et antiqua Jonathan paraphrasi,* cum Rasi, Ibn Ezrae et David Qimchi, latine. London 1601; the Spanish rendering of Tg to Canticles made by Moses LANIADO and published at Venice in 1619; and, finally, the Latin rendering of Onkelos and Tg Jonathan to the Prophets made by Andrea de Leon ZAMORANO, found in MS form in the Barberini Library. Cf. WOLF II, 1158 and 1167.

[26] Published at Isny in 1541.

[27] *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum in quo omnes voces chaldaicae, talmudicae et rabbinicae, quotquot in universis Vet. Test. paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, in utroque Talmude, Babylonico et Hierosolymitano, in vulgaribus et secretioribus Hebraeorum scriptoribus commentatoribus philosophis theologis cabbalistis et jureconsultis extant, fideliter explicantur, ...* in lucem editum a Johanne Buxtorfio filio. [1640]...It was re-edited in two parts (1869, 1875) at Leipzig by B. FISCHER.

YEḤIEL († 1106) it makes more extensive use of the Tgs than R. Nathan did. It also notes all the passages in the Tgs then available where the Messiah is referred to, a study made in a less complete manner by ELIAS LEVITA. Jewish scholars, too, made a significant contribution. In 1580 Mordecai BEN YEḤIEL LORIA published a glossary on the Aramaic of the Tgs to the Megilloth, Daniel and Ezra [28]. Samuel BEN PHINEHAS published a commentary on the Tgs of Esther and another on the Tg to Ruth [29]. David BEN JACOB SZEBRCZYN contributed a commentary on TJI, TJII and Tg Sheni to Esther [30]. Eliakim GOTTSCHALK ROTHENBERG wrote a commentary on the Megilloth in 1618 [31] and David Y. Melammed one on Tg I to Esther in 1644 [32]. A better-konwn work than those we have just mentioned is R. Pheibel BEN DAVID ZECHARIAH's *Expositio vocum difficilium in Targum Onkelosi, Jonathanis et Hierosolymitano obviarum, cum triplici isto Targum,* published separately at Hanover in 1614 and later in the Amsterdam Pentateuch (1646). A commentary on TJI and TJII is also found in the 1671-1677 edition of the Pentateuch. It is from the pen of Mordecai BEN NAPHTALI HIRSCH from Kremsir [33].

Bishop G. GÉNÉBRARD, whom we have already mentioned, contributed a work on the use of rabbinic material [34]. We have writings on the nature and theological utility of the Tgs from such men as Christopher HELVI-

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[28] פירוש המלות ... של תרגום מחמש מגילות דניאל ועזרא (An explanation of the vocabulary of the Tg on the five Megilloth and on Ezra and Daniel), Cracow 1580. In the British Museum.

[29] תחלת דברי שמואל ... על התרגום (מגלת אסתר) (A commentary on the MT and on the Tg of Esther), Prague 1601. In the British Museum. *Bêth Dîn Šᵉmu'el* (Scholia on RASHI's commentary on Ruth and Esther with a commentary on the Tg to Ruth and on the Gemara), Lublin 1606. Not in the British Museum. I owe the reference and description to a targumic bibliography kindly put at my disposal by A. DÍEZ MACHO for which I take this opportunity of thanking him.

[30] פירוש על תרגום יונתן ותרגום ירושלמי (ותרגום שני על מגילת אסתר) (A commentary in Hebrew on TJI, TJII and Tg Sheni to Esther), Prague 1609. In the B.M.; cf. also G. DALMAN, *Grammatik*², p. 28.

[31] ספר גאולת הגר , ביאור לתרגום חמש מגילות (A literal commentary on the five Megilloth), Prague 1618. In the B.M.

[32] *Magen David,* Cracow 1644. I also owe the reference to this to DÍEZ MACHO's bibliography.

[33] *Qeṭoret ha-sammîm,* Amsterdam 1671-77; cf. DALMAN, *l.c.*, No work bearing this title stands under M. ben NAPHTALI HIRSCH's name in the B.M. catalogue of Hebrew printed books. It may be a later edition of the same author's ספר קטרת המזבח על חורבן בית חמקדש ועל עריכות הגלות, which is in the B.M.

[34] *Eisagoge ad legenda et intelligenda rabbinorum commentaria.* The Tg to Joel, mentioned above (n. 12) was published with it.

cus [35] (1612), J. Owenus [36], Augustus Varenius [37], Thomas Smith [38], Jo. Morinus [39] (1663), A. Pfeiffer [40] (1665), Richard Simon [41], J. C. Wichmannshausen [42], (1703) J. H. Michaelis [43] (1720). Im. Schwarz [44] (1758-1759) devoted special attention to the targumic doctrine of the Messiah. Use was also made of the Tgs by Christopher Cart-

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[35] Christophor Helwig or Helwich, *Tractatus Historicus et Theologicus de Chaldaicis Bibliorum Paraphrasibus, earum Origine, Numero, Autoribus, Antiquitate, Differentiis, Autoritate, & insigni Usu in Controversiis Theologicis, ac Scripturae interpretationibus*, Giessen 1612. The title gives a good idea of the contents. Of the works on the Tgs from this period Helwich's is by far the most complete and treats of the same questions as most do today. See also *Tractatus historicus et Theologicus de libris Thargumicis, Thalmudicis et Chaldaicis paraphrasibus adversus Iudaeos* in Helwich's *Commentaria... in epistolam S. Pauli ad Hebraeos*. London 1661, pp. 857-80.

[36] I.e. John Owen in "De Origine IV Targumim deque singulis in specie", being *Digr. III*, (pp. 402 ff.) of his *Theologoumena Pantodapa*, Bremen 1684. On J. Owen see J. M. Rigg in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. 14, pp. 1318-22.

[37] *De Targumim vel paraphrasibus chaldaicis Onkelos in Legem, Jonathanis in Prophetas et illa quae extat in Hagiographos* lectionum Academicarum prima, Rostock 1644. Augustus Varenius (1620-1684) was made professor of Hebrew at Rostock in 1643. On his life and work cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 39 (1895), pp. 486 f.

[38] *Diatriba de chaldaicis paraphrastis eorumque versionibus ex utraque Talmude ac scriptis rabbinorum concinnata*. Oxford, 1662. " A scholarly work showing the writer's early bent towards oriental learning" according to Thomas Soccombe in his biography of Thomas Smith (1638-1710) in *Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 18, p. 540.

[39] In Book II, Exercit. VIII, pp. 318 ff. of his *Exercitationes Biblicae de hebraei graecique textus sinceritate, germana LXX interpretum translatione dignoscenda, illius cum Vulgata conciliatione*. Paris 1663.

[40] *Dissertatio de Targumim*. Wittenberg 1665. Also in his *Theologiae... judaicae... principia... hoc est: exercitationes de Judaeorum libris*. Leipzig 1687. Christianus Kortholatus (i.e. Kortholt) also treats of the Tgs in ch. 39 of his *Variae Scripturae sacrae editiones...* Kilonii (Kiel) 1886.

[41] *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*. Paris 1678; Amsterdam 1680; In Latin: Amsterdam 1681. Book I, ch. 18.

[42] *Denarius positionum de Targumim*. Wittenberg, 1703. Johan Christoph Wichmannshausen (1663-1727) was professor of Oriental Languages at Wittenberg. See C. Siegfried in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* vol. 42 (1897), p. 316.

[43] *De Targumim usu insigni anti-judaico in doctrina de persona Christi (speciatim de voce* Memra *seu* Logos *a chaldaeis de Messia usurpata)*. Halle 1720. The Tgs are also treated of in *Disputatio* V, VI, VII of J. Leusden's *Philologus Hebraeus*. Utrecht 1657; 2d rev. ed. Utrecht 1672; 3rd. ed. Utrecht 1686; 5th ed. Basle 1739.

[44] *Jesus Targumicus*. 2 parts. Torgau 1758-1759.

WRIGHT [45], by J. LIGHTFOOT in his *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* [46], and in the similar work by C. SCHOETTGEN [47]. J. BARTOLOCCI treats of them in *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* [48] (1675-1694). The *Bibliotheca Sacra* of J. LELONG [49] and *Bibliotheca Hebraea* [50] of J. C. WOLF contain much material on the editions and versions of the Tgs as well as information on the earlier writers who laboured in these studies.

This catalogue of earlier writers on targumic studies is by no means exhaustive. A glance at the twelfth *Prolegomenon* of WALTON's *Apparatus* [51] will introduce one to other views then current on these paraphrases. The manner in which the problems relating to the Tgs were then approached shows us that these earlier writings are still relevant. Apart from the manner in which the Tgs in general were considered, they also contain useful lists of the points of contact between the Tgs and the NT. Many of the texts considered pertinent today were debated over three centuries ago.

These studies, however, laboured under serious drawbacks. To begin with, too much interest was paid to the apologetic value of the Tgs. Then, in comparisons with the NT only individual texts were considered, and thus the early or late character of the works as a whole could neither be proved nor disproved. The age had not yet arrived when this study could be made.

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[45] *Electa Thargumico-rabbinica, sive annotationes in Exodum ex triplici Thargum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi.* 1658. Cf. also his other work: *Mellificium Hebraicum, seu observationes diversimodae ex Hebraeorum, presertim antiquorum, monumentis desumptae, unde plurima cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti loca vel explicantur* etc. Printed in *Critici Sacri*, London ed. 1660, vol. IX, cols. 2943-3128; in the Amsterdam (1698) ed. vol. VIII, part 2, cols. 1271-1426. *Electa Thargumica* was inserted in vol. I, part 1, of the 1698 (Amsterdam) ed. of the *Critici Sacri*, which ed. I have been able to consult at Sacred Heart College, Cork.

[46] Matthew, 1658; Mark, 1663; I Corinthians, 1664; Luke, 1674; Acts and Romans published posthumously by R. KIDDER in 1678.

[47] *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in universum Novum Testamentum (in Theologiam Judaeorum dogmaticam antiquam et orthodoxam de Messia). Quibus Horae J. Lightfooti in libris historicis supplentur, Epistolae et Apocalypsis eodem modo illustrantur*; 2 vols, Dresden and Leipzig, 1733, 1742.

[48] *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica, de scriptoribus et scriptis hebraicis*, Rome 1675-94; reprinted by Gregg Press, New Jersey 1964.

[49] Paris 1709. 2 vols. It was re-edited by N. DESMOLETS, Paris 1723 in 2 vols. and finally in a revised fashion by A. G. MASCH: *Bibliotheca sacra post Iac. Lelong et C. F. Boerneri iteratas curas ordine disposita*, emendata, suppleta, continuata ab Andr. G. Masch, Halae 1778-1790. 2 parts in 5 vols.

[50] 4 vols. Hamburg 1715-1773.

[51] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta.* London 1657. Pp. 81-7.

III. The Golden Age of Jewish Studies (*ca.* 1850-1910)

The era of the scientific study of Judaism had to await the researches of L. ZUNZ and his successors. L. ZUNZ's major work, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* [52], was followed by a number of others of equal worth that earned for him the title of "Father of Modern Jewish Science". His pioneering work was continued by others and during the Golden Age of Jewish Studies (*ca.* 1850-1910) few problems in the field were left untouched. The new movement brought scientific journals into being [53] and produced works of lasting value. A. GEIGER's *Urschrift* [54] was followed towards

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[52] 1st ed. Berlin 1832; 2nd ed. Frankfurt on Main 1892. He had already outlined the plan for a scientific study of Judaism in *Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur* (1818). See below n. 53 for *Zeitschrift* that first appeared in 1822. We may also mention from among his other writings *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1855); *Der Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes* (Berlin 1859); *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin 1865; Nachtrag 1867); *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin 1845). For his life see N. GLATZER, *L. Zunz. Jude, Deutscher, Europäer*, Tübingen 1964.

[53] The principal journals for our purpose are the following: *Jüdische Monatsschrift*, Prague-Brünn 1802; – *Bikkurê ha-'Ittîm*, Vienna 1820-1832; – *Zeitschrift für die Interessen des Judentums*, Breslau 1822-1823 (founded by L. ZUNZ); – *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, Frankfurt on Main 1834-1848; – *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1851-1938; 1939-; (Founded by Z. FRANKEL, it took up ZUNZ's *Zeitschrift*); *Ha-Maskîr* (A Journal for Hebrew Bibliography) founded by M. S. STEINSCHNEIDER; Frankfurt on Main 1858-1882; – *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, founded by A. GEIGER; Berlin 1862-1875; – *Bêth ha-Midrash*, Vienna 1865-1866; – *Jüdisches Literaturblatt*, Cracow 1873; – *Magazin für Geschichte, Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin 1874-1893; The editors were A. BERLINER and D. HOFFMANN. The first two volumes went under the title *Magazin für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*. – *Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Literatur der Juden*, a quarterly founded by N. BRÜLL and edited by A. BERLINER and D. HOFFMANN, 1874-1890; – *Revue des Études juives*, Paris 1880 and still current; – *Monatsschrift für Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Vienna 1889-1891, edited by A. WEISSMANN; – *The Jewish Quarterly Review*; Old Series, London 1888-1908; New Series, Philadelphia-London, 1910, still runs; *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1896-1920; *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1898-1920; – *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt on Main 1903-1928. For further information on Jewish periodicals cf. A. I. SHINEDLING " Periodicals and Press" in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, New York 1942, pp. 438-57; C. G. HERLITZ and M. PROBST, "Presse, jüdische" in *Jüdisches Lexicon* vol. 4 (1930) cols. 1102-1110; S. OCHSER, "Periodicals" in *JE* vol. 9 (1905) pp. 602-40.

[54] *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums*. Breslau 1857; reprint with introduction by P. KAHLE and a supplement by N. CZERTKOWSKY, Frankfurt on Main 1928.

the end of the century by W. BACHER's work on the haggadoth of the Tannaim and the Amoraim ([55]), and other studies on Jewish science ([56]). He is justly considered the founder of modern Jewish haggadic studies. The beginning of the present century saw the publication of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* ([57]) whose learned articles from the leading authorities of the day cover most aspects of Judaism. In his *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*([58]) H. STRACK attempted to give a systematic outline of Jewish literature. The fact that there were four editions of this work between 1887 and 1908 gives some indication of the flourishing state of Jewish studies during the period ([59]).

Targumic studies benefited immensely from this renewed interest in Jewish science. Older editions of the Tgs were reprinted ([60]); new MSS were noted ([61]) and edited ([62]). Some of the Tgs were translated into the

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([55]) *Die Agada der Tannaiten.* 2 vols. Strasbourg 1884-1890; 2nd ed. 1903. *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer.* 3 vols, Strasbourg 1892-1899. *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer.* Strasbourg, 1878; 2nd ed. Frankfurt on Main 1913.

([56]) *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur.* Vol. I: *Terminologie der Tannaiten.* Leipzig 1899; Vol. II: *Terminologie der Amoräer.* Leipzig 1905; *Tradition und Tradenten in den Schulen Palästinas und Babyloniens.* Leipzig 1914.

([57]) 12 vols. New York 1901-1906.

([58]) 5th ed., Munich 1920.

([59]) An English ed., based on the author's corrections of the 5th German one, was published in Philadelphia in 1931 and reprinted by Meridian Books, New York, in 1959. The work, even in its latest edition, is hopelessly out of date and needs a thorough revision.

([60]) E.g. the reprint of the Sabbioneta ed. of Onkelos (1557) brought out by A. BERLINER, Berlin 1884.

([61]) Cf. P. DE LAGARDE, "Eine vergessene Handschrift des sogennanten Fragmententargums", *Nachrichter d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen,* 1888. E. F. KAUTZSCH, "Mitteilung über eine alte Handschrift des Targum Onkelos (Codex Soncino No. 84), Halle [actually Leipzig] 1893; G. DALMAN, "Handschrift zum Jonathan-Targum: Add. 27031 d. British Mus.", *MGWJ* 41 (1897) 454-56; H. BARNSTEIN, "A Noteworthy Targum MS. in the British Museum", *JQR* 11 (1899) 167-71; S. LANDAUER, "Ein interessantes Fragment des Pseudo-Jonathans", *Festschrift A. Harkavy,* Petersburg 1908, pp. 19-26.

([62]) P. DE LAGARDE, *Prophetae chaldaice e fide codicis reuchliniani,* Leipzig 1872 (reviewed by Th. NÖLDEKE in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland,* Nr. 43 (26 Oct. 1872) 1157-60; *id., Hagiographa chaldaice,* Leipzig 1873; L. MUNK, *Targum scheni zum Buche Esther,* Berlin 1876; M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum* (*Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch*), Berlin 1899; M. ADLER, "Targum to Nahum", *JQR* 7 (1894) 630-37; H. BARNSTEIN, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis,* London 1896; F. PRAETORIUS, *Das Targum zum Buch der Richter in jemenischer*

vernacular (63). The Aramaic of the Tgs was studied (64) as was also the character of the various targumic paraphrases (65). The individual Tgs were compared among themselves (66); with the original HT (67); with

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Ueberlieferung, Berlin 1900; M. GASTER, "Geniza Fragmente zu Dt. (Targum jeruschalmi)", *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an D. Kaufmann*, ed. A. BRAUN and F. ROSENTHAL, Breslau 1900, pp. 222-24; L. WOLFSOHN, *Targum zu Jeremias*, Halle 1902; M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiël zum Pentateuch)*. Nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. Add. 27031), Berlin 1903.

(63) E.g., C. W. GINSBURG's English trans. of Tg Koheleth in his commentary to Ecclesiastes, London 1861; J. W. ETHERIDGE, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments from the Jerusalem Targum*, 2 vols., London 1862-65; G. W. PAULI, *The Chaldee Paraphrase of the Prophet Isaiah*, London 1871; CASSEL has a German version of the Targum Sheni in his commentary to Esther, Berlin 1878; A. BARNSTEIN, *The Second Targum translated from the Aramaic*, [= an Eng. trans. of CASSEL's German rendering], Edinburgh 1888; H. S. LEVI, *Targum on Isaiah... with Commentary*, London 1888; S. HARRY, *Targum to Isaiah I-V with* [Hebrew] *Commentary*, London 1889; C. G. K. GILLESPIE, *The Burden of Babylon*, The Hebrew Text of Isaiah xiii, 7 - xiv,23..., Stockport 1890; A. W. GREENUP, *The Targum on the Book of Lamentations, translated*, Sheffield 1893.

(64) Cf., e.g., S. KRAUSS, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols., Berlin 1898/99; M. J. LANDEN, *Rabbinisch-aramäisch deutsches Wörterbuch zum Kenntnis des Talmuds, der Targumim...*, Prague 1819; M. S. FRANKEL, "Kleine Beiträge zum targumischen Wörterbuch", *Festschrift A. Berliners*, Frankfurt o. M. 1903, pp. 99 ff. M. NEUMARK, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur Sprache des jerusalemischen Pentateuch-Targum* (Dissertation, Giessen), Berlin 1905.

(65) Cf. G. B. WINER, *De Jonathanis in Pentateuchum paraphrasi chaldaica*, Erlangen 1823; H. PETERMANN, *De indole paraphraseos quam Jonathanis esse dicitur*, Berlin 1831; Z. FRANKEL, "Einziges zu der Targumim", *Zeitschrift für die Interessen des Judentums* 3 (1846) 110 f.; H. SELIGSOHN - J. TRAUB, "Ueber den Geist des Jerushalmi", *ibid.* 1 (1851-52) 235-42; Sieg. MAYBAUM, *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos...*, Breslau 1870; W. BACHER, "Das Targum zu den Psalmen", *MGWJ* 21 (1872) 408-16; *id.* "Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum", *ibid.*, 28 (1874) 1-58; S. B. SCHEFFTEL, *Biûrê Onkelos, Scholien zum Onkelos von S. B. Schefftel, nach dem Tode des Verfasser herausgesgeben von Dr. Josef Perles*, Munich 1888; M. GINSBURGER, "Zum Fragmententhargum", *MGWJ* 41 (1897) 209-96; 340-50; E. BREDEREK, "Die Art der Uebersetzung in Targum Onkelos", *Studien und Kritiken* 3 (1901) 351-77; S. LANDAUER, "Lesarten zum Targum der Klagelieder", *Festschrift Nöldeke*, Giessen 1906, pp. 505-12.

(66) Cf. W. BACHER, "Das gegenseitige Verhältniss der pentateuchischen Targumim", *ZDMG* 28 (1874) 59-72; J. BASSEFREUND, *Das Fragmenten-Targum zum Pentateuch, sein Ursprung und Character und sein Verhältniss zu den anderen pentateuchischen Targumim*, Breslau 1896 (published first in *MGWJ* 40 (1896) and 41 (1897).

(67) See, e.g. GEIGER's *Urschrift*, pp. 456 ff.

other early versions ([68]) as well as with the halakah ([69]) and other Jewish writings ([70]). Citations from the PT in Jewish writings from earliest times down to those of the printed editions were collected and commented on ([71]). The question of the dating of the Tgs, in particular the PT, also received attention ([72]). Together with this, studies were made of individual aspects of the concepts contained in the Tgs ([73]). The present-day student may

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([68]) Cf. A. RUDOLF, *Die Onkelo chaldaico... et quid ei rationis intercedat cum Akila*, 2 parts, Leipzig 1845/46; J. M. SCHOENFELDER, *Onkelos und Peschitta (Studien über das Alter des Onkelos'schen Targums)*, Munich 1869; H. WEISS, *Die Peschitta zu Deutero-Jesaia und ihr Verhältniss zum... Targum*, Halle 1873; SEBOEK (= SCHOENBERGER), *Die syrische Uebersetzung des zwölf kleinen Propheten und ihr Verhältniss zum ... Targum*, Breslau 1887; A. SBELESS, *Die syrische Uebersetzung der Klagelieder und ihr Verhältniss zum Targum*, Giessen 1896; M. FRIEDMANN, *Onkelos und Akylas*, Frankfurt o. M., 1896.

([69]) Cf. S. GRONEMANN, *Die Jonathan'sche Pent.-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*, Leipzig 1879; S. SINGER, *Onkelos und das Verhältniss seines Targum zum Halaka*, Frankfurt o.M., 1881; M. GINSBURGER, "Verbotene Thargumim", *MGWJ* 44 (1900) 1-7.

([70]) Cf. S. KRAUSS, "Die biblische Völkertafel, im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum", *MGWJ* 39, NF 3 (1895) 1-11; 49-63; A. MARMORSTEIN, *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum. I. Das Targum und die apokryphe Literatur*, Posen 1905.

([71]) Cf. L. ZUNZ, *GV* 2, pp. 71 ff.; J. BASSFREUND, *Das Fragmenten-Targum*, pp. 17 ff.; LERNER, "Anlage des Bereschith Rabba und seine Quellen", *Magazin* 8 (1881) 30-36; M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, pp. 91-122; *id.*, "Die Citate aus Thargum jeruschalmi", *Zeitschrift für hebraïsche Philologie* 6 (1902, No. 4); KOHUT, *Index ad Citata... targumica...* in the index to the *Aruk*, Vienna 1892, pp. 18 ff.

([72]) Cf. M. LEVY, "Ueber Onkelos und seine Uebersetzung des Pentateuch III, Entstehung, Alter, Vaterland und Einfluss der Uebersetzung", in GEIGER's *Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol.* 5 (1844) 175-98. This article of LEVY'S is continued in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1845, pp. 337 ff., 354 ff.; L. HAUSDORFF, "Zur Geschichte der Targumim nach talmudischen Quellen", *MGWJ* 38 (1894) 203-13; 241-51; 289-304; Chajes HIRSCH, *'Iggeret Bikoret: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Kritik in Betriff der Targumim und Midraschim*, 2nd ed., Pressburg 1853; J. BASSFREUND, "Die Erwähnung Jochanans des Hohenpriesters im Pseudojonathan zu Deuter. 33,11 und das angeblich hohe Alter dieses Targum", *MGWJ* 44 (1900) 481-86.

([73]) Cf. e.g. P. YOUNG, *Christology of the Targums, or the Doctrine of the Messiah as unfolded in the Ancient Jewish Targums*, Edinburgh 1848; W. AYERST, *Tiqwat Yisrael, The Hope of Israel, or the Doctrine of the Ancient Jews concerning the Messiah as stated in the Targums*; Italian translation, *La Speranza d'Israele etc.*, Milan 1865 (I have not been able to consult the original); A. NEUBAUER - S. R. DRIVER, *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, 2 vols. Oxford, London, Leipzig ,1876, 1877; vol. I, texts; vol. II translations (pp. 5 f. for trans. of Tg Is 53); M. GINSBURGER, "Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim", *JfPT* 17 (1891) 262-80, 430-53.

not agree with many of the conclusions reached in any of these individual studies: a knowledge of the work already done during this earlier period, however, will save him much time and labour. For, although the present-day student may choose a different approach, he must still work with the same texts as these pioneers in the field.

This first approach to a scientific study of the Tgs was not without serious shortcomings. At the risk of oversimplification we may say that the approach to the Tgs, as to Jewish texts in general, was individualistic ([74]). Each haggadah was considered in itself or as associated with some individual rabbi. Sufficient attention was not paid to the continuity of tradition and to the possibility that the association of a tradition with a given rabbi may be due merely to an accident in the history of transmission and may have nothing to do with the date of origin of the tradition. Because the sources of rabbinic tradition dating from Tannaitic times were considered the oldest, they were taken as the main criteria for dating rabbinic material: those first attested only in "later" sources were automatically suspect.

As regards the Tgs, the general view was that the oldest of all three was O. Next in time came the Tg of Jonathan to the Prophets. TJI and TJII were considered much more recent: the former being no earlier than the 7th century. That this position on the Tgs to the Pentateuch should become general — despite the contrary view of such authorities as Z. FRANKEL ([75]), A. GEIGER ([76]), Th. NÖLDEKE ([77]) and others — is due principally to G. DALMAN's *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* ([78]), and to his other work, *Die Worte Jesu* ([79]). In the first edition of his *Grammatik* ([80]) (1894) he gave a prominent place to TJI and TJII, seeing that they may possibly include sections from a very early, and even pre-Christian, period. This possibility he discarded completely in *Die*

([74]) Cf. G. VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition; Haggadic Studies* (Studia Post-Biblica, Vol. IV) Leiden 1961, p. 3.

([75]) Cf. *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, Leipzig 1841, pp. 185-91; *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik (Pentateuchus)*, Leipzig 1851. In the latter work he concludes that targumic activity existed already in the early Hellenistic age and maintained that it was impossible to assume a late date for the PT; cf. esp. p. 81.

([76]) *Urschrift*, pp. 451 ff.

([77]) Cf. *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, Leipzig 1886, p. 256.

([78]) Leipzig 1894; 2nd ed. 1905.

([79]) Leipzig 1898; 2nd ed. 1930; Eng. trans. *The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh 1902.

([80]) Cf. *The Words*... pp. 84 f.

Worte Jesu (81) and in the second edition of his *Grammatik* (82), where he defended the view that the earliest portions of TJI and TJII, linguistically speaking, are those taken from O. The language of TJI and TJII, he maintained, is a mixture of Aramaic from various dialects and it cannot be taken to represent that of 1st century Palestine (83). This led him to base his reconstructed language of Jesus on O. In so doing he was, however, quite inconsistent, for he held that O is written in the language of the learned schools of Judea and not in that spoken by the people (84).

IV. The Use of the Targums to the Pentateuch in Certain Writings on the New Testament and on Judaism

The view which holds for the late or uncertain date of the Tgs in general, and of the PT in particular (85), affected even the classic writings on Judaism. In *The History of the Jewish People in New Testament Times* (86) E. SCHÜRER purposely omitted consideration of the Tgs, believing they belonged to the third or fourth centuries at the earliest "though they often fall back on older exegetical traditions" (87). Their Messianic doctrine, he wrote, may be considered to be that of the author of the *Philosophoumena* (88). When H. St. J. THACKERAY cited the "Targum of Palestine" (actually TJI) (89) he found it necessary to remind his reader that it is a 7th century work whereas O goes back to the 1st. He further noted that the "additions" of the Tg of Palestine to O *in loc.* (i.e. Nm 21,16 ff.) are later accretions. He failed to note, however, that what he considered

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(81) Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

(82) Cf. *Grammatik*², pp. 32 f.

(83) *Ibid.*; *The Words...*, pp. 84 f.

(84) *Grammatik*², p. 13.

(85) This was considered to be later than Tg Jonathan to the Prophets; cf. above p. 9.

(86) Eng. trans. of the revised 2nd German ed., Division II, vol. ii, Edinburgh 1901, pp. 153 f.; cf. for the latest ed. *GJV*, II, 4th ed. (1907), pp. 607 f.

(87) *Ibid.* It need hardly be remarked that SCHÜRER has excellent introductions to the Tgs (*GJV*, I³·⁴ [1901], pp. 147-52; *HJP*, Div. I, vol. i, pp. 154-63). His bibliography is especially valuable (*ib.* 152-56; 160-63).

(88) *Ibid.* Actually, the doctrine of the *Philosophoumena* 9,30 which he cites could well be that of 1st cent. Judaism. The Messianic doctrine of the Tgs, in fact, appears to be very old and, in many places at least, pre-Christian; see below pp. 238 f.

(89) In *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London 1900, p. 208.

later additions are actually found in the text of PS.-PHILO's *LAB* which he cited a page further on.

The writings of J. BONSIRVEN evince a distrust of the Tgs in the reconstruction of NT Judaism. In *Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ* (90), while admitting that they contain certain older parts, he believed that they are to be used as witnesses of Jewish religion for the NT period only with reserve. He did not consider them in *L'Exégèse rabbinique* (91) nor did he translate any portion of them in his *Textes rabbiniques des deux premiers siècles* (92).

This same attitude of distrust is particularly evident in the standard work on Judaism in the English language: G. F. MOORE's *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (93). The author stated that the purpose of his work was "to exhibit the religious and moral conceptions of Judaism... in the form in which, by the second century of the Christian era, they attained general acceptance and authority" (94). For this purpose he took as his sources those works that tell us what Judaism has to say for itself: Judaism "as represented by the teachers and writings which it has always regarded in the line of its catholic tradition" (95). The evidence of writings outside these, when pre-Christian, "is welcome even when not intrinsically of immense importance" (96). He dismisses the Tgs much more readily.

> The Targums had a time of being very much overworked by Christian scholars in consequence of the erroneous notion that they antedated the Christian era; and in particular the messianic expectations of the Jews in that age were looked for in them. Afterwards they were still more abused in the search of a God-out-of-reach who negotiated with the world through the Memra and other intermediaries. Their true value lies in the evidence they give of the exegesis of the Tannaitic pe-

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(90) 2 vols., Paris 1935; in abbreviated form in *DBS* 4 (1949) 1143-1285 and separately in book-form.

(91) *L'Exégèse rabbinique et l'exégèse paulinienne* (Bibliothèque de théologie historique), Paris 1939.

(92) Rome 1955.

(93) Cambridge (USA) 1927 in 2 vols.; vol. III *Notes*, 1930.

(94) *Judaism* I, p. 125.

(95) *Ibid.*, p. 127.

(96) *Ibid.* p. 176.

riod — to the real understanding of what the Bible said for itself ([97]).

So much for his position on the Tgs in general. His view on the PT is not too clear. He noted that in the form in which the PT (i.e. TJI) "is in our hands it is late, containing the names of a wife and daughter of Mohammed" ([98]). For the purpose of his work "it is seldom of consequence; and the same is true of the Fragment Targum which is related to it". ([99]) Yet he admitted that the bulk of the material cannot be dated by the late references ([100]). Treating of Targumic interpretation and the synagogue homily he noted how in the Palestinian Tgs — dating, he repeated, in their present form from much later times — the interpretation freely runs into midrash, in which "they may be taken to illustrate the fashion of the older interpreters, though in their actual form the midrashic element may be largely literary contamination" ([101]). The renowned author clearly found himself in a dilemma. On the one hand, he accepted the general belief on the late origin of the PT: on the other, he perceived that the literary *genre* of the work belonged to an earlier age. This uncertain position of G. F. MOORE is explained by the date his book bears — 1927. We are at the turning point in PT studies.

V. Change of Approach to Jewish Studies: 1930-1950

If G. F. MOORE's sole intention was "to exhibit the religious conceptions and moral principles of *rabbinic* Judaism", no one could cavil with his choice of source-material. To assume, however, that this form of Judaism is the sole, or even the principal, representative of the Jewish religion of the first century is another matter. Jewish religion then was much more variegated, as we now know. One can therefore object to the title of his work: *Judaism of the First Centuries of the Christian Era.* Later studies appear to have shown that, in a number of cases at least, the PT represents the religion of the ordinary Jew much better than do rabbinic sources, which come to us in good part from Judaism as reorganized after the Fall of Je-

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([97]) *Ibid.*, referring to his article "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology", *HTR* 15 (1922) 41-85.

([98]) *Judaism I*, p. 175.

([99]) *Ibid.*, p. 176.

([100]) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

([101]) *Ibid.*, p. 304.

rusalem and the disappearance of the Sadducees and Essenes from the picture.

In 1920 R. HARRIS wrote an article on the importance of the Tgs for NT studies (102). He recalled Mr WALKER's remark on the point in his article on "Targum" in HASTING's *Dictionary of the Bible*: "We find in the NT traces of Aramaic renderings of Heb. verses in books like the Psalms [reference to Mt 27^{46}, cf. Ps 22^{2}; Eph 4^{8}, cf. Ps 68^{19}]. The agreement of these with renderings still found in the Targums, which we know were not reduced to the present form until long after, cannot be purely accidental" (103). R. HARRIS himself found "Targumisms" in such texts as "the right hand of the throne of Majesty" Heb 8,1; "he saw the Glory of God" (Fourth Gospel) (104); "without blame before the throne of God" Apoc 14, 4 f.; cp. Eph 1,4; Col 1, 22; Jud. 24 (105). He was of the opinion that "whether they [the Tgs] were written or not, the Christian Church must have passed through a state of Targumism, if it emerges from the synagogue where Targumism prevails" (106). He concluded his study with the words: "It is evident, then, that the time is ripe for a new critical study of the Targums, both from the point of view of textual criticism and from the standpoint of higher criticism, and in particular further investigation is required into the reaction of the Targums on the New Testament" (107).

It does not appear, unfortunately, that the time was then ripe for this work. Full ten years were to elapse before Jewish studies were to adopt a change of attitude that was to make the new study desired by HARRIS possible. The first publication that made a real contribution in this direction was *Masoreten des Westens II* (108) in which P. KAHLE edited fragments of written texts of the PT, some of which he dated to the 7th cent. A.D. This was to bring about a radical change in the approach to the PT. This same year saw to press S. RAPPOPORT's *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (109). This work showed that much of the haggadah

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(102) "Traces of Targumism in the New Testament", *ET* 32 (1920-21) 373-76.

(103) *Ibid.*, p. 374.

(104) *Ibid.*, p. 375.

(105) *Ibid.*, p. 376.

(106) *Ibid.*, p. 374.

(107) *Ibid.*, p. 376.

(108) In *Beitrag zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, Dritte Folge, Heft 14, Stuttgart 1930.

(109) Frankfurt o. M. 1930. In his French translation of the *Antiquities* of JOSEPHUS (*Oeuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe*, edited by Th. REINACH), J. WEILL had already noted the Jewish parallels to many of JOSEPHUS' traditions.

found in later rabbinic writings was present already in JOSEPHUS. The author even suggested that JOSEPHUS was dependent on a written Aramaic Targum ([110]). JOSEPHUS' relation to the haggadah and halakah had been studied a number of times before ([111]); RAPPOPORT's work, though unnoticed for a number of years, was to serve as a reminder. In 1931 A. MARMORSTEIN ([112]) studied some of the PTG texts published by P. KAHLE. In 1933 P. CHURGIN ([113]) re-opened the question of the relation of the LXX to the Tgs and came out strongly in favour of Z. FRANKEL's ([114]) view of a close relation between them. P. CHURGIN's researches led him to recognize several old portions in TJI, despite the later recensions and alterations to which this Tg was later subjected ([115]). A. MARMORSTEIN had already shown the antiquity of the traditions in TJI at the beginning of the century ([116]).

The general attitude to Jewish studies also changed during the decade between 1930-1940. The earlier approach was, as we have seen, by and large individualistic: interested in single traditions rather than in the development of Jewish tradition in general. This latter aspect was now stressed. From 1934 onwards A. ROBERT published various studies on the development of doctrine within Judaism, showing that phrases from earlier books of the Bible are used in the later ones and that they take on a new meaning in their later context ([117]). This *style anthologique*, as he calls it, has

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([110]) *O.c.*, pp. xx-xxii. In *Notes on N.T. Criticism* (London 1907), p. 28, E. A. ABBOTT notes how JOSEPHUS (*JA* 2,8,1) says Jacob "enlarged upon the praises of Joseph" and refers to the renderings of O and PT on this section of the PT. A comparison of the "Table of Nations" in JOSEPHUS and the PT will show that in this section, at least, the historian, while following some non-biblical tradition, is not dependent on the PT nor on rabbinic tradition as found in the later midrashim.

([111]) Cf. DUSCHAK, *Josephus Flavius und die Tradition.* Vienna 1864; H. BLOCH, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archäologie*, Leipzig 1879, pp. 8-22; M. OLITZKI, *Flavius Josephus und die Halacha*, Part 1, Leipzig 1886; Part 2, *Magazin* 16 (1889) 169-82; TACHAUER, *Das Verhältniss des Flavius Josephus zur Bibel und zur Tradition*, Erlangen 1871; S. KRAUSS, "Josephus" in *JE* 7 (1907) 277.

([112]) "Einige vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den neudeckten Fragmenten des jerusalemischen (palästinischen) Targums", *ZAW* 49 (1931) 231-42.

([113]) "The Targum and the Septuagint", *AJSL* 50 (1933-34) 41-65.

([114]) Cf. note 75 above.

([115]) *A. c.*, passim.

([116]) In *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum. I. Das Targum und die apokryphe Literatur*, Posen 1905. He comes to the same conclusions in *a.c.* (note 112 above), pp. 234 f.

([117]) Cf. "Les attaches littéraires bibliques de Prov. i-ix", *RB* 43 (1934) 42-68, 172-204, 374-84; 44 (1935) 344-65; "Le genre littéraire du Cantique des Cantiques"

much in common with what was later called Midrash, a fact indicating that the roots of Midrash are to be found already in the Bible ([118]). These studies of A. ROBERT laid the foundations on which R. BLOCH and others would build.

The PT fragments from the Geniza of Cairo pushed the written texts of the work back as far as the 7th century, thereby changing the entire attitude to this Tg. In 1941 P. KAHLE gave the Schweich Lectures on the Geniza finds ([119]), paying special attention to the PT. Before the 10th century, he maintained ([120]), the Tg used in Palestine was not O, but a special Palestinian one, fragments of which he had published in 1930.

The next major event that affected Jewish and Targumic studies was the discovery and publishing of the Qumran texts from 1947 onwards ([121]). These texts, written in Hebrew or Aramaic at dates from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st A.D., afforded yet another means of dating Jewish traditions. Among the Aramaic texts have been identified a substantial portion of a Tg to Job written *ca.* 100 B. C. ([122]), and fragments of a Tg to Leviticus ([123]). The translation in both cases is quite literal([124]). The *genre* of the midrashic commentaries — or *pesharim* — from Qumran was seen to be strikingly similar to that of the PT to the Pentateuch ([125]). Some writers even main-

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Vivre et Penser, III série 1944, pp. 192-213; "Littéraires, genres", *DBS*, vol. v. cols. 405-21, esp. 413-416.

([118]) Cf., e.g., *art. cit.* in *DBS*. coll. 411f., 417 f.

([119]) Published as *The Cairo Geniza*, London 1947; 2nd ed., Oxford 1959.

([120]) O.c., 1st ed., pp. 126f; 2nd ed. pp. 194f.

([121]) For the abundant literature on these we refer the reader to the special monographs and bibliographies.

([122]) A preliminary report on this Targum has been given by J. VAN DER PLOEG in *Le Targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumran 11 Qtg Job: Première communication*. Medelingen der koninklijke nederlandese Akademie van Wetenschappen, XXV-9, Amsterdam 1962.

([123]) Cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, "La lengua hablada por Jesucristo", *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963) 107, n. 42.

([124]) This does not prove that the earlier Tgs were literal renderings while later ones were paraphrastic. We must remember that the Qumran Targums were for a more literate society than that for which the PT was intended. This latter arose in a liturgical milieu where paraphrasis was called for. S. SEGERT (*Qumran Probleme*, Berlin 1963, p. 322) believes that the Tgs and other Aramaic works were possibly not composed in the Qumran Community but were imported from without. Even if this were so, the principle holds: they were scarcely for popular liturgical use.

([125]) A comparison of the *pesharim* with the PT will make the similarities of both forms of paraphrase evident. For an example of the former see below p. 72. The point was first noted by G. VERMES in *RevHistPhilRel* 35 (1955) 95-103.

tained that the *pesher* to Habakkuk presupposed the extant Tg to this book ([126]). This opened up the possibility of a pre-Christian date for part, at least, of the Tg to the Prophets. Another Qumran writing that was compared with the PT was the Genesis Apocryphon — a midrashic Aramaic rendering of portion of Genesis ([127]). In the second edition of the *Cairo Geniza* ([128]) P. KAHLE took this new material into consideration.

In 1949 Guido KISCH re-published the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (*LAB*) of PSEUDO-PHILO ([129]). The *editio princeps* of this work was brought out by J. SICHARDUS in 1527 ([130]) and was reprinted a number of times in the following years, the last reprint being in 1559. It was almost quite forgotten until L. COHN ([131]) drew attention to it at the end of the last century, and was unavailable to students in its Latin dress before G. KISCH's scholastic edition. The Latin text has been shown to be a fourth century rendering of a Greek text which, in turn, rendered a Semitic original that dates from the 1st cent. A.D. ([132]). The work contains a wealth of Jewish traditions, at times paralleling those of JOSEPHUS and PHILO of Alexandria, but more often those known only from later rabbinic writings.

([126]) Cf. W. H. BROWNLEE, *The Dead Sea Habaqquq Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan*, Duke Divinity School, 1953; *id.*, "The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan", *JJS* 7 (1956) 169-86; *id. The Text of Habakkuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran*, JBL Monograph Series, vol. 11, 1959; *id.*, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", *BA* 14 (1951) 54-76; H. WIEDER, "The Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum", *JJS* 4 (1953) 14-18.

([127]) M. R. LEHMANN writes on the Genesis Apocryphon: "This Scroll fits squarely into the main stream of Targumim and Midrashim, and probably represents the oldest prototype available to us" (*Revue de Qumrân* 1 [1958] 251).

([128]) Oxford 1959.

([129]) *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Notre Dame (Indiana) 1949.

([130]) *Philonis Iudaei Alexandrini, Libri Antiquitatum, Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim...*, Basle 1528, with dedicatory letter of SICHARDUS dated 1527; cf. G. KISCH, *o.c.*, p. 34.

([131]) "An Apocryphal Work ascribed to Philo of Alexandria", *JQR* 10 (1898) 277-332. The work was translated into English by M. R. JAMES (*The Biblical Antiquities of Philo, now first Translated from the Old Latin Version*, London 1917) and into German by P. RIESSLER (*Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*, Augsburg 1928, pp. 735-861). L. COHN gives a detailed analysis of the book, while the translation of M. R. JAMES has a sixty-six page introduction and is accompanied by critical and exegetical notes.

([132]) This is the date given by COHN and JAMES. G. VERMES (*Scripture and Tradition*, p. 6) thinks they do so "on highly questionable grounds", and believes the work may be much older, as its exegetical traditions certainly are.

Due, in part at least, to these new discoveries and publications, the entire attitude to Jewish tradition underwent a change from 1930 onwards. These studies had now become more historical-minded and were more interested in tracing the growth of Jewish tradition through the ages than in assembling the sayings of individual rabbis. The ascription of a tradition to a particular rabbi was no longer the sole, nor even the main, criterion for determining its age. As has been already noted ([132a]) the connection of any particular type of exegesis with a particular rabbi in rabbinic tradition may be merely due to an accident in the process of transmission. At some uncertain period it became a norm in rabbinism that, whenever possible, traditionists were to name their source and not hand on a tradition anonymously: חייב אדם לומר בלשון רבו: "A person is bound to speak [i.e. transmit a tradition] in the language of his master" is an oft-cited rabbinic dictum ([133]). The rule is very practical and still retains its importance for dating otherwise undatable traditions. At most, however, it will bring us back to the earliest attested connection of the tradition within rabbinic Judaism. The more recent approach to Jewish sources has made it possible to get back beyond this.

The great collection of haggadoth assembled by W. BACHER still retains its importance, though it is to be used in conjunction with these later studies. The stupendous collection of Jewish legends put together by L. GINZBERG ([134]) has also considerable moment. One defect, from our point of view, is that the author chose for his text the form that is more explicit rather than that which is oldest. This shortcoming was offset, however, by the invaluable notes in which he gave practically every available parallel from other sources, Jewish and Christian ([135]). The well-known volumes of H. STRACK - P. BILLERBECK ([136]) were more selective in their choice of material, dating the texts where possible and noting when one is of uncertain value for NT exegesis. Targumic material was, unfortunately, given a very secondary place. Some very pertinent texts were

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([132a]) Above p. 19.

([133]) E.g., Ber. 47a; Shabb. 15a; Bekor. 5a; Eduy. 1,3; Cf. H. L. STRACK, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Meridian Books), pp. 17.246; B. GERHARDSSON, *Memory and Manuscript*. Uppsala 1961, p. 133 etc.

([134]) *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. including notes and index, Philadelphia 1909-1928.

([135]) These notes are indispensable for tracing the age of Jewish traditions and are still our main source for such purposes.

([136]) *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols.; Munich 1922-1928; indexes later.

omitted and others were judged unimportant, being considered of a later origin (137).

The outcome of this new approach to Judaism was the desire for a new synthesis. This R. BLOCH sought to do in various articles (138), particularly in that on *Midrash* in *DBS* (139). She also made a significant contribution in her detailed analysis of the criteria for dating rabbinic material (140). Her sad and untimely death left her projected work unfinished (141). The new school of thought introduced by P. KAHLE, and particularly by herself, continued the work. The latest attempt at a synthesis is that of G. VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, Haggadic Studies (142). In this he continues the work of R. BLOCH (143).

VI. The Present State of Targumic Studies

Fortune had it that in 1949 Prof. Alejandro DÍEZ MACHO should come on a complete copy of the PT in the Vatican Library and definitively identify it as such in 1956 (144). It had long been thought that an entire copy

(137) For some examples see below pp. 73; 128; 140; 185[98]; 195[20]; 196[26]; 245.

(138) Cf. "Écriture et Tradition dans le judaïsme. Aperçus sur l'origine du Midrash", *CS* 8 (1954) 9-34; "Note sur l'utilisation des fragments de la Geniza du Caire pour l'étude du Targum palestinien", *REJ* NS 14 (1955) 5-35; "Quelques aspects de la figure de Moïse dans la tradition rabbinique", *Moïse l'Homme de l'Alliance* (= *CS* 8, nos. 2-4 [1954] pp. 212-285) Paris 1955, pp. 93-167.

(139) Vol. V, cols. 1263-80.

(140) "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique", *RSR* 43 (1955) 194-227.

(141) The plane on which she was travelling from Paris to Israel was shot down over Bulgaria in July 1955.

(142) Studia Post-Biblica vol. IV, Leiden 1961.

(143) Cf. *infra*. p. 35.

(144) The find was announced by A. DÍEZ MACHO in "Una copia de todo el Targum jerosolimitano en la Vaticana", *Estudios biblicos* 16 (1956) 446 f.; *id.*, "Una copia de todo el Targum palestinense al Pentateuco en la Biblioteca Vaticana", *Sefarad* 17 (1957) 119-21; *id.*, "El Targum palestinense completo", *Arbor* 36 (1957) 516-18 = *Punta Europa* No 14 (1957) 116 f.; P. BOCCACCIO, "Integer Textus Targum Hierosolymitani primum inventus in codice Vaticano", *Bib* 38 (1957) 237-39. The most detailed account of Neofiti 1 is to be found in A. DÍEZ MACHO's article "El Targum Palestinense" in *Noticias Cristianas de Israel* 13 (No 2 July 1962) 19-26 and in the French and English versions of the same bulletin. A detailed study of N 1 can be seen in the same author's article "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum, its Antiquity and Relation to the other Targums", *Supplements to VT* 7 (1959, Oxford Congress Volume) 222-45.

of this work no longer existed. The fact that this particular MS — Neofiti I — was falsely catalogued by no less an authority than G. SACERDOTE as "Onkelos" was probably the reason it was passed over by students for over half a century. This discovery is probably to be reckoned among the most important in the recent history of targumic studies. PT material was to be further enriched, however, by the publication, in the following years, of other fragments from the Cairo Geniza ([145]).

At the same time the need was felt for critical editions of the various Targums. A. SPERBER has already done this for O and for the Tgs to the Former and to the Later Prophets ([146]). N awaits publication in an *editio princeps* and in the Madrid Polyglot ([147]). The London MS, B. M. Addit.

([145]) Cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, "Nuevos fragmentos del Targum palestinense" *Sefarad* 15 (1955) 31-39[= PT Gn 37,15-33; 40,5-18; 41,43-57; 42,34-43,10]; W. BAARS, "A Targum on Exod. XV 7-21 from the Cairo Geniza", *VT* 11 (1961) 340-42. Further Geniza MSS of the PT await publication; cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, "La Lengua hablada por Jesucristo", *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963) 117.

([146]) *The Bible in Aramaic*; Vol. I *Pentateuch according to Onkelos*, Leiden 1959; II, *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*, Leiden 1959; III, *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*, Leiden 1962.

([147]) Cf. *Biblia Polyglotta*: *Prooemium*, Madrid 1957, p. 9. Fr A. DÍEZ MACHO, in a letter dated 12-Sept. 1964, has kindly communicated the following information on the position in which affairs now stand with regard to the publication of Neofiti.

Respecto al Neofiti están las cosas de este modo:

> 1) *Editio princeps*: terminada la obra del autor (transcripción de texto, notas, y traducción castellana)... La traducción irá en un segundo volumen tras el I del texto arameo... [It will probably be published by the Academic Press, Israel: negotiations are now afoot on the financial side of the question.] La Academic Press se compromete una vez entregado el original a tener la obra completa en cuatro meses... La editio princeps es lo primero que saldrá; la rapidez depende de que se arregle pronto el asunto de los presupuestos. Será editada conjuntamente por el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y Editorial Codex.
>
> 2) *Políglota*: Editará el Targum Palestinense con base el Neofiti: 5 volúmenes (uno por cada libro; más el vol. VI con Introducción, Gramática y Léxico. Está en prensa el vol. del Deut.; de momento está a punto de salir el espécimen de la edición del Targum palestinense (el primer cap. del Dt.) que se enviará a los especialistas. Después seguirá todo el Dt. y después Ge, Ex, Lev, Nu y vol. VI...
>
> La edición de la Políglota comprende: texto base: Neofiti con aparato critico de Neofiti, 440 de la Vaticana, Ms. Nür., Ms. 110 de París (según el original), Biblia Rabinica (Targum fragmentario), con los demás fragmentos del palestinense publicados y algunos sin publicar. Todo esto en la páginas impar; en la otra página se editará el Seudojonatan según el

27031 of TJI, uncritically edited by M. GINSBURGER will be re-edited in the same Polyglot ([148]). In the same work there will be published the Vatican MS Ebr. 448 of Tg O with an older vocalization than that edited by S. SPERBER ([149]). A new edition of TJII has also been promised ([150]).

Interest has also been re-awakened among Jews and Christians in the language of the PT and its relation to that of the NT and of 1st cent. Palestine. Hitherto the Aramaic literature at our disposal from NT times, or thereabouts, was very meagre. New light has been shed on this matter by the Aramaic documents from the Dead Sea area, in particular by the Aramaic letters of Bar Koseba discovered by the Jewish expedition of 1960 ([151]). The deficiencies of the older grammars of Palestinian Aramaic

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ms. (no según la defectuosa edición de Ginsburger), el 448 de la Vaticana para Onqelos, la Traducción castellana del Neofiti. El trabajo prácticamente está terminado para los cinco tomos y mucho hecho ya para el VI tomo...

No se puede predecir fecha para la Políglota pues depende de la prisa de los editores.

The first chapter of Deuteronomy of the Polyglot edition, referred to above, has now appeared in pp. 1-23 of *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia. Series IV. Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum. Adduntur Targum Pseudojonatam, Targum Onqelos et Targum Palaestinensis hispanica versio. L. 5. Deuteronomium Caput I.* Editio critica curante Alexandro DÍEZ MACHO. Madrid 1965. The lay-out is precisely as described by DÍEZ MACHO above, except that useful notes are added to the Spanish version of Neofiti, the only text translated. The edition is excellent and will be of immense value to students. On p. 1 we are told that "La 'edicio princeps' del Neofiti l'está ya ultimada y sólo falta que salga de prensa, cosa que se harà — así lo esperamos — rápidamente". We are also informed that a Spanish, English and French translation of Neofiti will be published in a separate volume and that the Vatican Library proposes to publish a facsimile edition of Neofiti accompanied by a Latin version. The specimen of Dt 1,1 is also reproduced in A. DÍEZ MACHO'S article "Magister-Minister. Prof. P. E. Kahle through twelve years of correspondence", *Recent Progress in Biblical Scholarship*, The Lincombe Lodge Research Library, Boars Hill, Oxford 1965, and separately, pp. 52 f.

([148]) Cf. preceding note.

([149]) Cf. *Biblia Polyglotta*; *Prooemium*, p. 10.

([150]) Cf. *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 202 and n. 147 above.

([151]) On the discovery of these and on their language cf. Y. YADIN, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert", Expedition D, *IEJ* 11 (1961) 40-52; *Yedi'ôt* 25 (1960) 53 ff. (in Hebrew); the letters are studied by Y. KUTSCHER in "Leshônàn shel haiggarôt ha-'ibriyyôt wa-'aramiyyôt shel bar Kosebah, û-benê dôrô", *Leshonênû* 25 (1961) 117-33; cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, "La lengua hablada...", pp. 109-113.

have become evident and new ones are being prepared for the Aramaic of various MSS, for N in particular ([152]).

The results of all these recent studies have pointed to an early date for the PT in general. This Tg, and not O, represents best the language and ideas of 1st cent. Palestine. As was to be expected, no small amount of study has been given to the bearing of the PT on Judaism and the NT. The first article we note on the bearing of the PT on the NT is that of A. WIKGREN in 1944 ([153]). His balanced view on the point merits citation *in extenso*:

> The question now naturally arises, however, regarding the value of the Targums in their present available form as a source for knowledge of Jewish exegetical thought, particularly in the first century A.D. What may be gained, for example, by their use as over against the use of rabbinical literature as a whole, if, as is generally alleged the ideas presented by them are much the same? In reply to these inquiries, we may observe some advantages which appear to exist in an approach through at least certain targumic texts. In the first place, although there is certainly much more material per lineal foot in the Talmud, the inherent association of the Targums with the biblical text has furnished a control which obviates much of the rambling and often disconnected presentation of the talmudic writings. Again, although we may miss that ascription of sayings to individual rabbinic teachers which give a convenient method of dating material in the Talmud, the midrashim which occur in the Targum were naturally such as had found general acceptance at the time and place of promulgation in this manner... Moreover, *we possess material among the Targums which apparently has not been subjected to as thorough a revisionary process as have most of the talmudic writings. Such data are found particularly in the Pentateuchal Palestinian Targums ... These, when compared with such an "official" version as Onkelos ... appear to reflect more primitive ideas because of the larger element of earlier midrash permitted to remain in them, since they did not*

([152]) Grammars on Neofiti are being prepared by students of A. DÍEZ MACHO. A Grammar of the Aramaic portions of *Bereshith Rabba* from the MS Vat. Ebr. 30 is also to be brought out. This MS preserves a purer form of Aramaic than the others used by THEODOR-ALBECK in their critical edition of this work, an edition used by H. ODEBERG for his *Grammar of Galilaean Aramaic*, Lund/Leipzig 1939.

([153]) "The Targums and the New Testament", *Journ. of Rel.* 24 (1944) 89-95.

> *enjoy that official status which would have made it advisable in a later period to conform them more closely to the Hebrew text and to the then prevalent rabbinic exegesis.* Readings, therefore, later castigated by the rabbis as objectionable, may still be found here. Nor do they reflect as much of the reaction to the Christian movement which resulted in the removal or modifications of messianic and other allusions and interpretations in the generally accepted translations. *Hence, we are much more likely to find data here which originated in the first century, or, indeed, in the period of the first formulation of the Targums* (154).

The studies later made in individual passages of the PT were to bear out fully the contentions of A. WIKGREN, which were, likewise, those of P. KAHLE and R. BLOCH. As a result of this new manner of confronting the PT, a number of PT passages were shown to be very old and to have a definite bearing on texts from the NT. Studies on the bearing of the two works have come from M. BLACK of the KAHLE school, while that of R. BLOCH is represented by G. VERMES (155) and others. P. GRELOT (156) and S. LYONNET (157) have also made contributions, while R. LE DÉAUT (158) has written a number of useful articles on the manner in which the PT can elucidate the NT. These new studies placed the Targumic texts in

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(154) *A. c.*, pp. 91 f. Italics ours.

(155) His earlier studies are to be found in *Scripture and Tradition.*

(156) Cf. e.g. "De son ventre couleront des fleuves d'eau", *RB* 66 (1959) 369-86; "A propos de Jean VII, 38", *RB* 67 (1960) 224 f.; "Sagesse 10,21 et le targum de l'Exode", *Bib* 42 (1961) 49-60; "Le Messie dans les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament", *La venue du Messie* (Recherches Bibliques VI), Bruges/Paris 1962, pp. 27 f.; "L'exégèse messianique d'Isaïe LXIII, 1-6", *RB* 70 (1963) 371-80.

(157) Cf. ' "Tu ne convoiteras pas" (Rom. vii 7) ', *Neotestamentica et patristica, Eine Freundesgabe ... O. Cullmann,* Leiden 1962, pp. 157-65; "S. Paul et l'exégèse juive de son temps", *Mélanges Robert,* Paris 1957, pp. 494-506 and in his exegetical notes to the students at the Biblical Institute.

(158) Cf. "Le Targum de *Gen.* 22,8 et *I Pt.* 1,20", *RSR* 49 (1961) 103-06; "Pentecôte et tradition juive", *Spiritus* No. 7 (1961) 127-44 = *Assemblées du Seigneur.* No. 51, pp. 22-38; "Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus paulinien?", *Bib* 42 (1961) 28-48; "Le titre de *Summus Sacerdos* donné à Melchisédech est-il d'origine juive?", *RSR* 50 (1962) 222-9; "Goûter le calice de la mort", *Bib* 43 (1962) 82-86; "La présentation du sacrifice d'Isaac et la sotériologie paulinienne", *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus internationalis Catholicus,* 1961, published in Analecta Biblica 18-19, Rome 1963, II, pp. 563-74; "*Actes* 7,48 et *Matthieu* 17,4 (par.) à la lumière du targum palestinien", *RSR* 52 (1964) 85-90; "Miryam, sœur de Moïse, et Marie, mère du Messie", *Bib* 45 (1964) 198-219.

their Jewish setting and traced their earlier history by the comparative historical method, which is the characteristic of the present attitude to Jewish studies, as to studies of this field in general. Particular mention must be made of R. LE DÉAUT's doctoral dissertation: *La nuit pascale. Essai sur la signification de la Paque juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII* 42 [159]. LE DÉAUT places PT Ex 12,42 in its setting in Judaism, showing the significance of the Passover for the Chosen People and the wealth of meaning to be given to the targumic doctrine on the liberation from Egypt as a memorial of what God had done for his people in the past and as proof of what he would yet do in the future. This, apart from the innumerable references he gives to other PT doctrines and their bearing on NT exegesis!

A glance at the exegetical works of S. LYONNET [160] and D. MOLLAT [161] will show how seriously these new studies are taken by certain exegetes. It is only to be expected that the importance of the PT for the solution of *cruces* in NT exegesis will be felt all the keener as time goes on.

VII. The Purpose of the Present Study

Though the presumption now stands in favour of an early date for the PT, the fact remains that our earliest written texts of this rendering date from the seventh century; N, in its present form, was copied in the 16th century. TJI, as we have seen, has some later references and a certain rabbinic redaction of other representatives of the PT cannot be ruled out *a priori*: after all, these texts have been transmitted to us by rabbinic Judaism.

The studies that have been made on the PT of recent years have mostly concentrated on individual points, whether the PT has been compared with Jewish writings or with the NT. Such studies are not only extremely useful; they are altogether essential and many more remain to be done. The advantage of this line of approach to the PT is that it affords the opportunity of going deeply into the problems connected with the individual texts and that it can bring forward the required parallels from Jewish

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[159] Rome 1963.

[160] Cf. e.g. *Quaestiones in Epistulam ad Romanos*, Series altera; ed. altera, Rome 1962, pp. 103-106; *Exegesis Epistulae secundae ad Corinthios* (Pontificium Institutum Biblicum 1955-1956: ad usum privatum auditorum) p. 144.

[161] Cf. e.g. the various editions of his notes on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistles of St. Paul.

literature. But this approach also has a fundamental weakness: it affords no strong argument for the early dating of the PT *as a whole*. And, until the PT as a whole is shown to be early, the probative value of individual texts, is greatly impaired (162). These individual passages of the PT may be merely older traditions conserved in a later framework. We have already seen how a number of such contacts between the PT and the NT have been studied from the sixteenth century onwards. The passages and phrases in which the PT shows a relation with the NT were not seen as an argument for the early date of the work as such. For Brian WALTON these texts were *quasi scholarum prophetarum rudera, quae in suis paraphrasibus posuerunt [Paraphrastae]* (163); the Targumists had them *ex antiquis traditionum reliquiis quas ex Prophetis hauserunt* (164).

The PT gives the impression of being a very old rendering throughout. We have already cited A. WIKGREN's view on its value. P. KAHLE expresses a similar opinion and is quite optimistic on the value of the PT as such for NT exegesis. He writes (165):

> We can learn many more details from them [the PT texts] than from the material collected by Billerbeck and Bonsirven. Their voluminous works only serve to indicate what the conditions were at the time of the reorganization of Judaism after the destruction of the Temple: they show us how the rabbis rebuilt Judaism for the future.
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> In the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch we have in the main material coming down from pre-Christian times which must be studied by everyone who wishes to understand the state of Judaism at the time of the birth of Christianity. And we possess this material in a language of which we can say that it was similar to that spoken by the earliest Christians. It is material, the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated.

What seems called for in the present state of targumic studies is to see whether this view of the PT holds good for the NT in general and not merely for individual texts. Does the PT show a relation with the NT in several points of language, doctrine etc.? Is the manner in which certain

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(162) Cf. also below pp. 35 f.; 64 and n. 80 to p. 66.
(163) Cf. above p. 6.
(164) Cf. *Ibid.*
(165) *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 208.

persons are presented in the PT and the NT one and the same? Does the NT present certain events of sacred history in the same manner as the PT? Does the NT show passages in which the PT paraphrase seems presupposed and known to the NT writers? And in all these has the PT something to offer which we do not find in rabbinic writings?

R. BLOCH put forward the view that the PT is the basis for later rabbinic haggadah. She wrote ([166]):

> En étudiant le Targum de Jérusalem, il nous est apparu d'une manière évidente que celui-ci est à la base de la tradition aggadique postérieure; que, se plaçant dans le prolongement immédiat du donné scripturaire, il constitue une sorte d'articulation, un passage entre la Bible et la littérature rabbinique postérieure; qu'il représente le point de départ, non certes du genre midrashique comme tel (qui est déjà présent dans la littérature biblique), mais du *midrash* proprement dit, dont il contient déjà toute la structure et tous les thèmes.

G. VERMES has thought it necessary to put this principle to a rigorous test and to see whether it can stand up ([167]). It appears that the time is now ripe for a similar approach to the problem of the relation of the PT to the NT. In the following dissertation we wish to determine whether the PT, when approached from various angles, shows a definite relation with the NT, one that we do not find in rabbinic writings. It will be evident, of course, that there is no intention of attempting to prove that every text of the PT is of pre-Christian date. Even a moderate knowledge of the PT will indicate that there are at least some passages from the centuries after the time of Christ. We have already seen some from TJI and shall study others from N and TJII. We do, however, intend to propose arguments from the NT and rabbinic writings which indicate an early, even pre-Christian, date for the bulk of the material of the PT. It may be objected here that this method is of scant value for NT exegesis, seeing that any individual text of the PT could be of a later date. We grant that there still will remain the necessity of studying individual PT texts in depth. This, nonetheless, in no way invalidates the method here followed. If we can show that there is a manifold relation between the PT and the NT we have established a strong argument for the pre-Christian date of the PT *as such.*

([166]) "Note méthodologique... ", p. 212.
([167]) *Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 9 f.

Exegetes can thus legitimately turn to PT when they seek the elucidation of some obscure NT text.

A thesis of the nature of the one proposed would really require two distinct parts. In the first part it would be necessary to see what the PT texts have to say for themselves and what information Jewish sources throw on this paraphrase. In this part the origin, nature and history of transmission of the PT could be determined. One could study the nature of each of the representatives of the PT and the problems that are connected with each. It would also be possible to determine what can be deduced from the PT and Jewish writings on the date of the PT as such ([168]).

With this information in hand we could then see the bearing of the PT on the NT. In this second part it would be ideally necessary to approach the two sets of writings from as many angles as possible: on the ways, for example, in which the doctrine of the Messiah, of the life after death, of temporal and eternal retribution, the manner in which persons and events of sacred history as presented in the PT compare with the NT and with Jewish literature in general. The language of the two bodies of writings should likewise be compared and other themes could also be profitably considered.

Such a dissertation is precluded by the exigencies of space. In any case a certain amount of the work has already been done. For these reasons we have devoted merely one chapter to the PT as such ([169]). This we have considered to be highly desirable inasmuch as the origin, transmission and nature of the PT texts must be considered before we can profitably compare the work with the NT. In this chapter of the dissertation we consider only those aspects of the PT that have a bearing on the relation of the work with the NT. For more detailed considerations of the PT texts the reader is referred to the introductions.

In the part where the PT is considered in its relation to the NT we first of all choose some themes where the relation appears to be particularly close. In later chapters we shall show that the connection found in these same is not merely accidental but is attested in other texts. Thus in ch. III we will consider how Rm 10,6-8 ([170]) tends to show that Paul was conversant with the PT rendering of Dt 30,10-12. The PT paraphrase refers

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([168]) We originally intended to present a dissertation composed of two such parts and did a considerable amount of work on the first part. It is intended to publish this later in the form of an introduction to the PT or to the Tgs in general.

([169]) I.e. Ch. II below.

([170]) *Infra* pp. 70 ff.

to Moses, and Paul applies the text to Christ. We shall later see how Paul appears to follow the paraphrase of TJI in his midrash on the veil of Moses ([171]). The relation of 2 Tm 3,8 will reveal that Paul very likely drew on the paraphrase of Ex 7,11 as found in TJI when he refers to Jannes and Jambres ([172]). We shall refer to other works that show how the figures of Cain and Abel, ([173]), Isaac ([174]) and Balaam ([175]) are viewed in like manner in the PT and NT. This will show that the connection of the PT to the NT is here not restricted to a few texts.

In ch. IV we will study two themes from the Apocalypse and show how one is closely connected with TJI ([176]) and the other with the Tgs to the Pentateuch and those to Isaiah and Jeremiah ([177]). A later chapter will take us through the various manners in which the PT seems to be closely related with the Apocalypse ([178]).

We can touch on other subjects only at lesser length. The chapter on the linguistic relation of the PT and the Gospels (ch V)([179]) cannot be worked out in detail until later. Much of the work has already been done in this field, however ([180]). In like manner, we can only touch on certain aspects of the figure of the Messiah in the Tgs and the NT ([181]). This is a point that would require an entire dissertation to itself, one we hope that will soon be undertaken. It is a field that appears to be a promising one.

([171]) Pp. 168 ff. below.
([172]) Pp. 82 ff.
([173]) 156 ff.
([174]) Pp. 164 ff.
([175]) Pp. 168 ff.
([176]) Pp. 98 ff.
([177]) Pp. 117 ff.
([178]) Pp. 189 ff.
([179]) Pp. 126 ff.
([180]) A very full list of PT parallels to the NT, together with references to the work already done in the field, has been drawn up by A. DÍEZ MACHO, "Targum y Nuevo Testamento", *Mélanges E. Tisserant* (= Studi e Testi 231), Vatican 1964, pp. 153-85. Cf. also S. BARTINA, "Aportaciones recientes de los targumim a la interpretación neotestamentaria", *Est Eccles* 39 (1964) 361-76.
([181]) Below pp. 238 ff.

Chapter II

THE TARGUMS IN GENERAL AND THE PT IN PARTICULAR

The present chapter does not intend to be an exhaustive study of the Tgs, nor of the PT. Space precludes such treatment and the reader is referred to the standard works on the subject for more detailed information. We here limit our enquiry to aspects of the question that have a direct bearing on the relation of the PT with the NT and on some problems connected with the PT that have not been touched on by other writers.

I. The Origin of Targums [1]

תרגם from which תרגום "Targum" comes occurs but once in the Hebrew Bible (Esd 4,7) and there as a passive participle of uncertain meaning. Lexicographers have generally derived the Hebrew word "Targum" from the Akkadian *targumanu*, "an interpreter", which in turn would come from the root *ragamu*, "to call". C. Rabin [2] has recently held that the word is actually of Hittite origin, coming from *tarkummai-tarkummiya*, "to an-

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[1] On the word "Targum" see W. Bacher, *Terminologie I*, pp. 204-06; II, pp. 242-45; for the origin etc. of Tgs see L. Zunz, *GV*[1], pp. 61 ff.; 2nd ed., pp. 65 ff.; I. Elbogen, *JG*[2], pp. 186 ff. For general articles on the Targums see, inter alia, E. Boehl, *Forschung nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Vienna 1873; E. Deutsch in *Literary Remains*, 1874, pp. 319-403; H. Streber in Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2nd ed., Freiburg i. B. 1873, vol. II, cols. 716-19; S. M. Schiller-Szinessy in *Enc. Brit.* 9th ed. vol. 23 (1888) 60-65; Ch. Nestle, Hauck's *Real-encyclopädie*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1897) 103-110; E. Schürer, *GJV*, I[4] (1901) 147-56 (bibl. 152-56); T. Walker, *HDB* 4 (1902) 678-83; W. Bacher in *JE* 12 (1907) 57-63; R. H. Melamed *JQR* NS 10 (1919-20) 377-85 (particularly in the notes); S. Bialoblocki in *EJ* 4 (n. d., c. 1931) 678-83; A. Baumstark in *LTK*, (1931) 307-09; H. Fuchs, *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10 (1948) 173-75; A. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions*, Cardiff 1951, pp. 197-213; (bibl. pp. 307-09); O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das A. T*[3]., Tübingen 1964, pp. 944-47 (with latest bibliography).

[2] "Hittite Words in Hebrew", *Or* 32 (1963) 134 f.

nounce, explain, translate". Whatever of its biblical meaning or of its origin, תרגם in later Hebrew and Aramaic is chiefly used in the sense of translating the Scriptures, while תרגום "Targum" in these same sources is used principally of a version of the Scriptures (3).

The need for an Aramaic rendering of the Torah, or at least of an explanation of the Law in the language of the people, must have made itself felt as soon as the mass of the Jews had adopted Aramaic as their chief language after the Exile. The emphasis placed by the leaders of Judaism on the exact fulfilment of the precepts of the Law must have led them to instruct the people on the contents of the Torah, and that in the vernacular.

Jewish tradition traces the origin of the Targums back to the days of Ezra, basing itself on Neh 8,8. This tradition is found in *Meg* 23a (and par.), which reads as follows:

> What is the meaning of the text: *and they read in the book, in the Law of God, with an interpretation and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading* [Neh 8,8]? *And they read in the Book, in the Law of God*: this indicates the Hebrew text; *with an interpretation*: this indicates the Targum...

Few authors now defend the historical value of this tradition (3a). There was probably no need of an Aramaic rendering during the time of Ezra, in any case, in view of the possibility that Hebrew may still have been the vernacular of the Jews. It is, nonetheless, quite natural that later tradition should have come to believe that Neh 8,8 speaks of Bible reading in Hebrew, followed by a rendering into Aramaic, which had become a

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(3) Cf. I. ELBOGEN, *JG*², p. 187.

(3a) K. HRUBY ("La survivance de la langue hebraïque pendant la période post-exilienne", in *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire de l'École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 1916-1964*, Paris 1964, pp. 109-120, esp. 115-120) thinks that Neh 8,1-8 possibly, even probably, speaks "d'une explication donnée en araméen" (p. 120). This would be practically a Targum. The author finds support for his view in the LXX rendering. His understanding of LXX 3 Esdras 9,48 (parallel to Neh 8,8) is not accepted by R. LE DÉAUT; cf. *Liturgie juive...*, p. 20, n. 13. J. WEINGREEN ("The Origin of the Synagogue", *Hermathena* No 98 [1964] 68-84, referring to an earlier article of his, "Exposition in the Old Testament and in Rabbinic Literature", *Promise and Fulfilment: Essays Presented to Professor S. H. Hooke*, ed. F. F. BRUCE, Edinburgh 1963) believes the synagogue service, consisting in meetings outside the Temple with congregational prayer of fixed form, the public recital of pentateuchal and other sacred texts and the sermon, manifested itself already in pre-exilic times. What Ezra (Neh 8,1 ff.) did would, then, be nothing novel.

part of the synagogue service. And "to give the sense and cause the people to understand the reading" is precisely what a liturgical Targum had to do. It had to bring out the sense of the biblical text for later generations so that these understood the sense of the passage that had just been read. In doing this the translator could easily read later halakah into the biblical text itself. Illustrative paraphrase could, with equal facility, be given instead of the sometimes less intelligible text of the Bible.

We really do not know when Tgs first came to be composed among Aramaic-speaking Jews. In fact we do not even really know when they became necessary, through the loss of Hebrew among the mass, or sections, of the Jews in Palestine. One thing is, however, certain: these Aramaic renderings had a long history behind them by NT times and are probably as old as the Scripture readings in the synagogues (4). And, apart altogether from the synagogue service, pious Jews must have also felt the need of a version of the OT, or parts of it, in the vernacular.

II. The Targums and the Liturgical Reading of the Scriptures

In rabbinic sources the person who translated the Scriptures into Aramaic is called a Targeman, Turgeman, or, more often, a Meturgeman: תרגמן, תורגמן, מתורגמן. No special qualifications were required for the interpreter. Any competent person could act as such, even a minor if the head of the synagogue saw fit. G. F. Moore writes (5):

> The number of qualified interpreters in any ordinary synagogue must usually have been small, and it is possible that the synagogue attendant, who was frequently also the school teacher, often served in this capacity.

The Mishnah (*Megillah* 4) lays down detailed rules for the translation of the Scriptures in the Synagogue. A reader read the passage in Hebrew and a translator — the Meturgeman — stood beside him and rendered it immediately into Aramaic. Each reader from the Law — in the evening service of the Sabbath there were three different readers (*Meg.* 4,1) — may not read less than three verses. In the reading from the Prophets three verses were read out together and immediately translated. If single verses formed sense in themselves, then, each verse would be immediately translated on being read (*Meg.* 4,4). Another point made in the Mishnah is

(4) Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism I*, p. 302.
(5) *Ibid.*, p. 303.

that the Law had to be read in its entirety; the reader was not permitted to skip over verses as he was in the reading from the Prophets.

The translation had to be given extempore; the Meturgeman was not permitted to have a written text of the Targum before him. This was to ensure that the Tg would not be taken for, nor confused with, the inspired Word of God as found in the Scriptures (6). There was another reason for rabbinic tradition. This had as a principle that the written Law was to be transmitted in writing and reading while the oral Law was to be formally transmitted orally without a written text (7). This rule did not exclude the use of written texts of the Tgs in preparing the synagogue rendering nor did it forbid the use of written texts when studying the Scriptures outside the synagogue or schools. A general rule on how the Targumist should go about his work is attributed to R. JUDAH ben Ilai (T3, end of 2nd cent. A.D.): "He who translates (the biblical text) quite literally is a falsifier; he who adds anything thereto is a blasphemer" (Tos. *Meg.* 4,41; *Kidd.* 49a). He takes as an example Ex 24,10a where the HT says: "They saw the God of Israel". This must not be translated literally since no man can be said to have seen God. To insert "angel" for God would be blasphemous as a creature would then be substituted for the Creator. The proper rendering of such a passage, according to R. Judah, is: "They saw the glory (יקרא) of the God of Israel". This, incidentally, is how the text is rendered in all Tgs to Ex 24,10. The mental outlook that inspired this rendering, and most probably that which inspired R. Judah's principle, is much older than the 2nd century A.D. and is evidenced in such texts as Jn 12,41 which speaks of Isaiah seeing the glory of Christ. Though R. Judah had such texts as Ex 24,10 in mind when he enunciated his rule, his words were later to inspire a query on the PT which, in its lengthy paraphrases, seems to run counter to its spirit (8).

Not every text of the OT could be rendered into Aramaic in the synagogue. Some were of such a nature that they might scandalize the simple if heard read in the vernacular. These texts were read in Hebrew but not translated into Aramaic. We shall have occasion to consider these later (9).

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(6) Jer. *Meg.* 4,1,74 d; cf. MOORE, *ibid.*, p. 304, n. 1.

(7) Cf. H. L. STRACK, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 12 ff. and B. GERHARDSSON, *Memory and Manuscript. Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*: ActaSemNTUps 22, Uppsala 1961, pp. 81 ff.

(8) Cf. below pp. 57 f.

(9) Below pp. 46 ff.

III. The Order of the Scripture Reading during the Mishnah Period [10]

According to the Mishnah fixed Scripture readings are assigned to four out of the five or six sabbaths preceding the feast of Passover (M *Meg.* 3,4). These readings are known from their catchwords as *Sheqalim* (Ex 30,11-16); *Zaḳor* (Dt 25,17-19); *Parah* (Nm 19,1-21) and *Ha-Ḥodesh* (Ex 12,1-20). Special readings are also assigned to the great festivals, to Rosh ha-Shanah, Yom Kippur, the eight days of Tabernacles, the feast of Dedication (Ḥanukkah), Purim, the New Moons and to fast days (M *Meg.* 3,5 f.).

For the other days and for the ordinary sabbaths no fixed reading or order seems to have been the rule during the second century, at least in rabbinic circles. What order was to be followed in the reading of the Torah was a matter of dispute during the second century. R. Meir [11] maintained that the reading of the Law should be continuous, it being taken up on each liturgical service at the place where it was left off at the preceding one. His order of reading is that the sabbath afternoon service — the minḥah — continue that of the sabbath forenoon service; the Monday reading that of the proceding sabbath minḥah; that of Thursday the reading of the preceding Monday. The Thursday reading would be continued the following sabbath morning. R. Judah ben Ilai, the contemporary of R. Meir, favoured a continuous reading also, but in quite a different order; only from one sabbath morning to the next. (Tos. *Meg.* 4,10; *Meg.* 31b). When the Mishnah speaks of the Law being read "according to the set order" (M *Meg.* 3,6) the text must be interpreted in the light of this diversity of views between these two rabbis. The triennial Palestinian cycle in which the Pentateuch was read in order within three years is first mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud [12] and was hardly a general rule during the NT period. G. F. MOORE writes that it "was hardly authoritatively established before the third century, though it may have earlier been customary" [13].

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[10] Cf. G. F. MOORE, *o. c.*, pp. 296-303.

[11] *Id.*, p. 299.

[12] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 299 f.

[13] *Id.*, p. 300. An examination of the opinions of R. Judah ben Ilai and R. Meir on the order to be followed in the Torah reading reveals that the system of the latter would take about two years and a third to go through, while that of R. Judah would take no less than five years and a half; cf. I. ELBOGEN, *JG*², p. 160; MOORE, *o. c.*, p. 290. Aileen GUILDING does not pay sufficient attention to this difficulty in her important study, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship. A Study of the Relation of St. John's Gospel to the Ancient Jewish Lectionary System*, Oxford

The reading from the Prophets ([14]), i.e. the Haftaroth, was a well established custom by the NT period as we can see from Lk 4,16 f., which tells how Christ went into the synagogue of Nazareth on a sabbath and stood up to read.

> And there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it is written: *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*... And he closed the book and handed it back to the attendant and sat down... and began to say to them ...

This description corresponds exactly to the usage of the synagogue as we find it in the Mishnah and later texts, according to G. F. MOORE ([15]). We should note, however, that there is no mention made of a Meturgeman. It may be that Luke has omitted the point when writing for Gentile readers. It could also well be that the homily which Christ delivered was both a rendering of the HT and a sermon at the same time and that at this period the homily was not clearly distinguished from the translation proper.

This point would be against the order of the Mishnah somewhat. But, then, the Mishnah cannot be accepted as reflecting the period prior to the second century, nor can it even be taken to reflect accepted usage of the Mishnaic age. G. F. MOORE has the following pertinent remarks to make on the entire Mishnah ruling on the order of the reading and the laws governing the Aramaic translation:

> The regulations of the Mishnah sometimes seem to be ideals or desiderata rather than realities. They would do very well in the cities where there were great rabbinical schools, and such may have been chiefly in mind... ([16]).

1960. She believes that Mishnah *Meg.* 4,2.4 "would accord with the reading of the Pentateuch in a triennial cycle" (p. 9) as in these passages "of the Mishnah it is laid down that on the sabbath the Law is to be read by at least seven persons, and that no one who reads the Law in public may read less than three verses, and skipping was not allowed" (*ibid.*). A minimum of twenty-one verses every sabbath would accord with the triennial cycle. For a critique of her position see E. HAENCHEN (*TLZ* 86 [1961] 670 f.) and R. E. BROWN (*CBQ* 22 [1960] 459-61). Fr BROWN concludes his review saying that G's three year lectionary hypothesis is one "whose corroboration remains very uncertain".

([14]) Cf. MOORE, *o. c.*, pp. 301 f.

([15]) *Ibid.*, p. 301, n. 1.

([16]) *Ibid.*, p. 303, n. 4.

> The older custom can be read in it [the Mishnah] only as in a kind of palimpsest ([17]).
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> ... it is hardly to be questioned that the earlier interpreters in some cases exercised considerable freedom in paraphrase. The Palestinian Targums, as we have them, come from a much later time, but in the freedom with which paraphrase runs into midrash, they may be taken to illustrate the fashion of the older interpreters... It is even possible that in the first stage of the institution translation and homily were not yet differentiated, and the interpreter was also the expository preacher ([18]).

What we have said so far has a direct bearing on the PT, and this in two ways. To begin with, the purpose of the vernacular translation was not to give a bare, literal rendering of the biblical text. On the contrary, its function was "to give the sense and make the people understand the reading" just as the Levites of Neh 8,8 did. A liturgical rendering, as distinct from a private or schoslastic one, would then tend to be paraphrastic or homiletic in nature ([19]). To fulfil its scope of "giving the sense (of the biblical text) and making the people understand the reading" two things were necessary. It must first of all remain faithful to the original text and then bring out what the Targumist considered this text had to say for later listeners. The Tg would then be an "actualization" of the biblical text ([20]). Some of its paraphrases would be no more than an explicitation of the original, while in other cases later theological concepts and haggadoth would be read into the text or connected with it for the purposes of edification. This would be all the more so if the paraphrase served both as rendering and as homily, which appears to have been the case.

The second manner in which the liturgical reading of the Pentateuch may effect our present PT is that the formation of this latter would naturally have followed the introduction of the Pentateuch into the synagogue reading. It does not appear that the Law was read consecutively from the beginning of the synagogue reading ([21]). In this case, it is natural that those sections of the Torah read in the synagogue would be the first to be provided with a liturgical paraphrase. The PT would then have been formed only

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([17]) *Ibid.*, p. 303.

([18]) *Ibid.*, p. 304.

([19]) Cf. n. 124 to ch. I.

([20]) For this characteristic of Midrash see R. BLOCH, art. "Midrash", *DBS*, vol. V, col. 1266.

([21]) Cf. MOORE, *o. c.*, I, pp. 288 f.

gradually and it may well be that our present texts of this same may date from various ages, at least in certain PT texts, such as TJI. Our knowledge of the order of the reading from the Pentateuch in the synagogue and the connection of this with the PT are, however, far from certain and nothing definite on this point can now be affirmed. The matter is worthy of further study and we shall return to the question again when we come to determine the date of a certain section of TJI (22).

IV. A Brief History of the PT from the 2nd-16th Centuries

We possess three Aramaic versions to the Pentateuch: the Tg of O, the Peshitta — written in Syriac or Oriental Aramaic — and the PT. This latter is extant in its entirety in N and in a fragmentary manner in TJI, TJII, in the Geniza fragments and in citations. Though any Tg connected with Palestine can be called a Palestinian Targum, and many maintain that O and P are of Palestinian origin or connected in origin with a PT, usage has restricted the title "Palestinian Targum" to the paraphrastic one represented by N, TJI, TJII and the other sources mentioned above. It is in this sense that we use the title "Palestinian Targum" (= PT) in the present work.

The earliest fragments of this Tg which we now possess come from the Geniza of Cairo (here sigled PTG), the oldest of which is no earlier than the 7th century A.D. The present copy of N was written in the 16th century. The text it reproduces is, of course, much older, going back to the 2nd century A.D. according to the finder A. Díez Macho (23), a date we believe to be far too early. The texts of TJI now in print are also from 16th century MSS. As in the criticism of the Old or New Testament, or of any other work, we trace the earlier history of the text from citations — the *testimonia veterum* — so too must we do for the PT as far as possible. By the aid of the earliest of these citations we may be able to trace some of the history of the PT for the period prior to that represented by the Geniza fragments. As these fragments represent but a small section of the PT it is likewise necessary to trace the history of this paraphrase between the period covered by the Geniza fragments and the MSS of the PT now available or already reproduced in print. This aspect of the history of the PT does not seem

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(22) Below pp. 112 ff.

(23) "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum...", *VTS* 7 (1959) 229; cf. pp. 62 f. *infra*.

to have been yet investigated and for this reason we go into it in some detail here. The study will also permit us to compare existing PT texts with the attitude of rabbinic Judaism to the PT, or at least to certain texts from it.

1. *The PT and some Mishnah rubrics* ([24]): The Mishnah has some texts on the manner in which the HT is to be rendered into Aramaic. It also censures a rendering of Lv 18,21.

a) Passages to be read out in Hebrew but not rendered into Aramaic. M. *Meg.* 4,10 has the following rubric for the rendering of the Scriptures in the Synagogue ([24a]).

> The story of Reuben (Gn 35,22) is to be read out but not interpreted; the story of Tamar (Gn 38,13 ff.) is to be read out and interpreted. The first story of the calf (Ex 32,1-20) is to be read out and interpreted, and the second (Ex 32,21 ff.) is to be read out but not interpreted. The Blessing of the Priests (Nm 16,24-26) and the story of David (2 Sam 11,2-17) and of Amnon (2 Sam 13,1 ff.) are read out but not interpreted. ...

In the printed texts of our Tgs, O included, *all these texts are found translated into Aramaic.* This is not so important, however, as the Mishnah rule refers to the synagogue translation rather than to their consignment to writing. Some MSS of O have no Tg to the blessing of the Priests ([25]). It is extremely interesting that *none of these texts of the Pentateuch is translated in N.* Nm 16,24-26 is left untranslated in its entirety. In Gn 35,22 the text of N leaves untranslated only the offensive words (את בלהה) וישכב "and he lay with Bilhah". The text of N to Gn 35,22 is: וישכב ית בלהה ושמע ישראל. Here ית is either a mistaken writing for את or else only a single word (וישכב) is left untranslated. Another hand ([26]) has interlinearly corrected

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([24]) On these texts see M. GINSBURGER, "Verbotene Thargumim", *MGWJ* 44 (1900) 1-7.

([24a]) Cf. BERLINER, *Onkelos II*, p. 217.

([25]) E. g. MS Harley 5709 of the British Museum; see the Museum Catalogue, vol. 170, part I, p. 130; likewise Cod. Vat. Ebr. 16 (apparently 13th cent.) and Codex Vat. Ebr. 19 (probably 14th cent.); cf. H. CASSUTO, *Codices Vaticani Hebraici, codices* 1-115, Vatican 1956, pp. 21.25. On the rendering of Nm 6,24-26 see M. GINSBURGER, *a. c.*, pp. 3-5. The Vatican MS (440) of TJII also leaves Gn 35,22 untranslated.

([26]) According to M. FITZMAURICE-MARTIN (*Textus* 3 [1963] 16 f.) the *marginalia of* N are written by ten different hands, of which hand no. 6 is probably AEGIDIUS of Viterbo. He also believes that the glosses to N Lv 18,21 are from

ית to את and has added פילגש אביו as פילגש אבוי . אבוי, the Palestinian Aramaic for "his father", is probably an error for the corresponding Heb. אביו since פילגש is not an Aramaic word, but that of the HT. The purpose of the interlinear gloss, then, is to reduce the text of the copyist of the MS to Hebrew. Another hand has supplied the text from ויהי to וישמע ישראל in the margin.

The only explanation of all this is that the scribe of N in Gn 35,22 and its glossators were acting according to the Mishnah ruling, or else — and this seems the more probable — that N is here dependent on a tradition that abided by the legislation of the Mishnah in such texts.

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hand no. 6 (*ibid.* p. 17), i. e. AEGIDIUS, for whom the MS was most probably copied (*ibid.*, p. 22; So also A. DÍEZ MACHO, *Noticias cristianas de Israel* 13 [Julio 1962] 23; English ed. *Christian News from Israel*, p. 22; cf. however, G. E. WEIL, *Textus* 4 [1964] p. 229). The sources from which these numerous glosses of N are drawn still remain unidentified. After a detailed comparative study of Gn 4,3-16 according to the many PT texts extant, P. GRELOT writes that "l'origine des gloses marginales de TjN ne se laisse pas aisément discerner... Ngl serait plutôt fondé sur la collation de plusieurs manuscrits" (*Semitica* 9 [1959] 86, n. 2.) R. LE DÉAUT (*La nuit pascale*, p. 37) has noted the frequent, though not constant, correspondence between Ngl and TJII, Walton Polyglot. This is but natural if the MS of N and its glosses come from circles connected with AEGIDIUS. FELIX PRATENSIS, the first editor of TJII in 1517, was AEGIDIUS' first teacher of Hebrew (cf. G. SIGNORELLI, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo Agostiniano umanista e riformatore*.... Florence 1929, p. 203, n. 8; cf. however, M. MARTIN, *a. c.*, p. 33). FELIX, an Augustinian by 1517, would in any case be known to AEGIDIUS. M. MARTIN (*a. c.*, pp. 29 ff.) believes that one of the ten hands of the marginalia is that of ELIAS LEVITA, a scribe in whose employ (and under whose orders) would have transcribed N for AEGIDIUS (*a. c.*, p. 32) in 1516 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 14). A. DÍEZ MACHO (*a. c.*, p. 22) takes the date in the colophon as 1504, not 1516 and excludes any connection with ELIAS in its transcription, as LEVITA was not yet in Rome in 1504. This, of course, does not exclude a connection with the marginalia which may have been added later. In this question of ELIAS' relation with Ngl it is of capital importance to compare these same, and N, with the PT citations found in ELIAS' works. M. GINSBURGER (*Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. XIII) has drawn up a list of the PT citations of ELIAS which are not found either in TJI or TJII. Comparing these with N and Ngl we find that some correspond with N (e. g. Gn 1,27; 2,5; 3,13; 17,17). Lv 2,26 is corrected in an interlinear gloss in N to make the PT text conform with a text found in ELIAS. Other texts of N, Ngl and ELIAS are similar but not identical (e. g. Gn 18,10; 22,28) while further texts of ELIAS are not found in N or Ngl (e. g. Lv 1,26; Nm 11,18). This point deserves a detailed study, bearing as it does on the relation of ELIAS to N and Ngl. For some of LEVITA's PT citations see M. GINSBURGER's list in *Pseudo-Jonathan*, *l. c.*; *Das Fragmententhargum*... pp. 91 ff.; cf. also n. 35 a below.

The second story of the calf, [27] whose rendering is forbidden by the Mishnah, is generally taken to be Ex 32,21 ff. RASHI[28] held that the Mishnah forbade only the rendering of Ex 32,34, the verse that says the calf came forth from the fire after Aaron had thrown the gold of the Israelites into it. The reason he restricted it to this verse was probably that he took it as the really offensive one of the context. According to a Baraitha R. Simeon ben Eleazar (T4, ca. 180 A.D.) said that some drew on this verse to prove that false gods had a real existence [29]. Unless the Mishnah intends the prohibition of this verse alone it is hard to see why it permits the translation of the first story of the calf (32,1-20) which contains references equally as dangerous as that of the second, e.g. "god who will go before you" (32,1); "gods who led you out of Egypt" (32,4).

In N, Ex 32 is rendered into Aramaic throughout, apart from such phrases as: "let us make gods who will go before us" (32,4.23); the adoration of the calf by the Israelites (32,8); their calling it the god who led them out of Egypt (32,8.25). All these phrases are left untranslated in the first and second story of the calf.

We cannot attribute this to an error on the part of the scribe as if he mistook the Hebrew for Aramaic. The difference between the HT and the required Aramaic is so great that such a mistake is unlikely. Then again, only these dangerous or offensive references are left untranslated. N is clearly abiding by some rule connected with that of the Mishnah.

We may be inclined to take it that this was due to some learned scribe or director of the 16th century who wished to produce a text in conformity with the Mishnah. That such was the case is quite possible. On the other hand we have a text in the Gemara of the Palestinian Talmud to *Meg.* 4,10, which leads one to believe that in 4th cent. Palestine Ex 32,35 was rendered just as in N, i.e. only the offensive words were left untranslated. The passage of the Pal. Talmud occurs in a discussion — reproduced in Heb. in the P. Talmud — on what constitutes the second story of the calf. R. Aḥa (A4, ca. 350 A.D.), in the name of R. Ba (i.e. Abba) said

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[27] On this prohibition see M. GINSBURGER, "Verbotene Thargumim", pp. 1 f. See also G. E. WEIL, "La Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque...", *Textus* 4 (1964) 45-48.50 f., for the bearing of the Targum Massorah and other rabbinic texts on this chapter.

[28] Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *a.c.*, pp. 2 ff.

[29] Cf. *ibid.*; *Meg.* 25 a; cp. Tosefta, *Meg.* 4,10 and cf. A. BERLINER, *Onkelos II*, pp. 86 ff. for further literature.

that it extended to the end of the chapter, i.e. Ex 32,35 which he cites as follows:

ומחא ״ ית עמא על אשר עשו את העגל אשר עשה אהרן

The text changes from Aramaic to Hebrew just in the place N's does, leaving the offensive words untranslated. This will be all the more clear when the texts on N and of the Talmud are placed together:

Jer *Meggilah* 4,10: ומחא ״ ית עמא על אשר עשו את העגל אשר ...
N ונגף ״ ית עמא על אשר עשו את העגל אשר ...

The Aramaic text cited by R. Aḥa is *verbatim* that of O, which, however, differs from N only in a single word, rendering ויגף of the HT by מחא where N has ונגף. Otherwise the text of R. Aḥa and of his teacher R.Ba is that of N, changing from Aramaic to Hebrew in precisely the same manner. It is possible that N's rendering throughout Ex 32 is dependent on some tradition that differs somewhat from the Mishnah ruling and that this tradition was current in 4th century Palestine. In any case, here as in the earlier texts, N appears to represent a Tg in closer contact with the Mishnah and the synagogue reading than do O or TJI.

b) The Mishnah (*Meg.* 4,9) and PT Lv 18,21. In *Meg.* 4,9 we read ([30]):

> If a man says (when translating Lv 18,21 into Aramaic): *And thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make (them) pass through (fire) to Moloch* (HT: ומזרעך לא תתן להעביר למלך) "and thou shalt not give of thy seed to become with child in heathendom" (ומן זרעך לא תתן לאעברא בארמיותא) they shall silence him with a rebuke.

The Mishnah text is seemingly directed against those who fail to render the HT literally. We may assume, of course, that the translation censured was in current use, and apparently in the synagogue, when the Mishnah rule was being drawn up. The Aramaic version appears to err on three points ([31]): i) It takes "seed" literally, as "semen", and not as "sons" ([32]). ii) In line with this it understands the verb להעביר, the Hiphil

([30]) Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *a. c.*, pp. 5 f.; S. GRONEMANN, *Die Jonathan'sche Pentateuch-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältniss zur Halacha*, Leipzig 1870, pp. 95 ff.

([31]) Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *a. c.*, pp. 5 f.

([32]) Almost invariably, all the Tgs render "seed" by "children" (בנין); cp. Gal 3,16.

of עבר, in the sense of "to render pregnant" rather than as "to cause to pass over, or through" (33). iii) It takes Moloch to mean "heathendom" in general.

We now turn to see how the extant Tgs take this Mishnah ruling. We naturally find that O, the official rabbinic Tg, abides by the rubric, rendering "seed" as children and reproducing "pass to Moloch" verbally. *N*, too, *abides by the Mishnah rule* and renders:

ומבניך לא תתן	And you shall not give any of your sons
למתעברה בנורא	to be made to pass through fire
קדם פלחנה נכרייה.	before a foreign cult.

In N, as in O, "seed" is rendered as "sons". "Moloch" is taken to mean a foreign cult, but the introduction of "through fire" seems to mean that N includes a direct reference to Moloch worship as described in the Bible.

The Peshitta, TJI and Ngl all disagree with the Mishnah rubric. TJI has:

ומן זרעך לא תיתן	And of your seed you shall not give
בתשמישתה לצית	in sexual intercourse at the side of a
בת עממין למעברא	daughter of the nations to pass over to
לפולחנא נוכרתה.	a foreign cult.

Here it is quite clear that TJI understands Lv 18,21 in the manner censured in M *Meg.*, 4,9, taking "seed" literally and understanding "to

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(33) Neither the Hiphil העביר of the HT, nor the Afel אעברא of the Aramaic rendering bears the meaning "to be pregnant", which is apparently that required by the Mishnah text. In Job 21,10 the Piel means "to render pregnant". It appears that the forbidden rendering in the Aramaic text understood Lv 18,21 in the light of the context which is devoted to sexual sins in which the reference to dedication to Moloch appears out of place. With this Tg text we may also compare PT Ex 22,4 where the HT is also rendered in the light of the context and in a manner different from most ancient and modern versions. The passage may even be anti-halakic; cf. P. KAHLE, *Cairo Geniza*², pp. 205-8. It is worthy of note that in the censured Tg of the Mishnah (4,9) the Afel infinitive form is אעברא with initial Aleph, the form of OT and Im perial Aramaic and of O. The Palestinian form (found in the PT) would be מעברא. Does O really represent the language of the earlier Aramaic renderings or is the Mishnah form due to later contamination from classical Aramaic?

pass" (להעביר) of the MT as "to render pregnant". The same is true of Ngl which renders:

ומן זרעך לא תתן And of your seed you shall not give
לפלחנה נכריין to a foreign cult.

The text that is nearest in language to the Mishnah text is that of the Peshitta. It runs ([34]):

ומן זרעך לא תרמא And of your seed you shall not give (lit.
למבטנו נוכריתא. "cast") to render pregnant a foreign woman.

The conclusion to this is that TJI, Nmg and the Peshitta have the form of a paraphrase censured in the Mishnah and may be taken to go back fundamentally to the type of targumic rendering rejected by this Mishnah rubric. O and N, on the contrary, are quite in accord with the Mishnah, a fact that is best explained by a revision of their texts to bring an earlier text into line with official halakah. It may be this that occasions the introduction by N of "through fire" before "a foreign cult", a phrase which we find in the other PT texts of TJI and Ngl.

2. *R. Nathan (ca. 170 A.D.) and PT Gn 6,14*: In the HT Gn 6,14 Noah is told to make and ark "of gopher wood" — תבת עצי גפר. The word גפר is an absolute hapax in the HT and is variously rendered in the versions. The LXX has: *κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων*; in the Vg we read *de lignis laevigatis*. In *Gen. R.* 31 R. Nathan (T4, c. 170 A.D.) explains the hapax by the following Aramaic words: תבותא דאעין דקדרינון, "an ark of cedar trees". According to the lexica, the word קדרינון is of very rare occurrence. Apart from *Gen. R.* (*l. c.*) we find it only in Tanḥuma, Beshallaḥ 24 to Ex 15,25 and in the PT to Gn 6,14. The Aramaic words used by R. Nathan ([35])

([34]) According to the view of P. KAHLE (*MdW*, pp. 3 f.; *Cairo Geniza*, 1st ed. pp. 186 ff.; 2nd ed. pp. 272-76), followed by S. WOHL (*Das palästinische Pentateuch-Targum*, Zwickau i. Sa., 1935), C. PETERS (*Le Muséon* 48 [1935] 1 ff.), A. BAUMSTARK (*ZAW* NF 18 [1942-43] 101-103; *ZDMG* NF 14 [1935] 91 f.) and A. VÖÖBUS (*Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs. Neues Licht zur Frage der Herkunft der Peschitta aus dem altpalästinischen Targum*, Stockholm 1958) the Peshitta to the Pentateuch is made from a Palestinian Targum which is closely related to our PT texts, especially those from the Cairo Geniza. P. WERNBERG-MØLLER (*Studia Theologica* 15 [1961] 128-80; *JSS* 7 [1962] 253-66) has recently challenged this theory. Texts such as Lv 18,21 and Gn 29,17 (cf. pp. 53 f.) of the Peshitta indicate some relation between this rendering and the early PT.

([35]) R. Nathan, surnamed "the Babylonian", migrated from Babylon to Palestine. It is interesting to see that the Aramaic words he uses are found in the PT rather than in O.

are precisely those by which the PT paraphrases this verse. This will be clear from the following list:

תבותא דאעין דקדרינון	R. Nathan
תיבותא דקיסין קדרונין	TJI
תיבותא דאעין דקדרינון	TJII
תבו ' אעין דקדרינון	N
דקסין קדרו '(35a)	Ngl
אעין דקדרינון	*Aruk*
אעין דקדרונין	ELIAS

Both PSEUDO-PHILO (*LAB* 3,4) and an early Greek rendering — probably that of SYMMACHUS (36), a contemporary of R. Nathan! — render in the same manner as the PT. The latter renders: *ἐκ ξύλων κεδρίνων*; PSEUDO-PHILO has: *arca de lignis cedrinis*. These texts show that the PT rendering must have been current in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. It is problable, then, that R. Nathan cites it in *Gn R.*, 31, a point suggested by M. JASTROW (*Dict.*, p. 1319).

(35a) Note that the only other extant PT text with the reading of Ngl Gn 6,14 is TJI. ELIAS LEVITA (1541) tells us he read of the existence of a Tg of Jonathan ben Uzziel to the Torah in MENAḤEM RECANATI (c. 1320) but doubts very much whether this ever existed as he had seen no copy of it. (Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. XIII). A. DE ROSSI, (same cent.) saw two complete copies of TJI, one in Reggio and the other in Mantua (*ibid.* p. 11); cf. also n. 26 above.

(36) In the Quinta of the Hexapla this reading is the second of three (PG 15,193 f.; cf. F. FIELD, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, tome I, Oxford 1875, p. 23). On the strength of an observation of PROCOPIUS (cf. FIELD, *l. c.*, n. 20) the third reading is taken to be that of Theodotion by the editor of the text in the *Patrologia Graeca*. The other two he takes to be probably those of AQUILA and SYMMACHUS. If the readings belong to those two the second is probably that of SYMMACHUS, who would then show himself to have been acquainted with the PT, or at least 2nd cent. Jewish tradition. H. J. SCHOEPS ("Symmachusstudien III: Symmachus und der Midrash", *Bib* 29 [1948] 31-51) has shown the influence of rabbinic tradition on the rendering of SYMMACHUS, an influence more marked than that on the translations of AQUILA or THEODOTION. On the early date of this latter, and on the forerunners of the former, the reader can confer the monograph of D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, *VTS* 10 (Leiden 1963). In this work Onkelos and Jonathan (ben Uzziel) of Babli *Meg.* 3a are taken to be the Semitic equivalents of AQUILA and THEODOTION and the Bible translations there connected with their names are considered by BARTHÉLEMY to be Greek versions, not Aramaic Targums; cf. *o. c.*, pp. 148-56. This is not the place to discuss the other interesting questions raised by the author.

3. *PT Ex 24,10 cited verbatim* (*c. 200* A. D.?): Ex 24,10 says that in a vision of the God of Israel Moses and others with him saw that "there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heavens for clearness". How God's footstool could be compared to sapphire and to the heavens was a point that worried the Tannaitic teachers. We find the following explanation given by Bar Kappara (T5, c. 200 A.D.) at the Academy at Nehardea (Jer. *Sukka* 54c; *Lev. R.* c. 23,167a).

> Bar Kappara has taught: [his opening words are in Hebrew] "As long as Israel was not redeemed from Egypt it [the sapphire brick] was placed as a mark in heaven, but after they had been redeemed it was no longer seen in the firmament. What do the words mean: *And like the very heavens for clearness*? [the text changes abruptly to Aramaic]: שמיא כד אינון נקיין מן ענני, the heavens when they are clear from clouds.

Now, this Aramaic paraphrase of Ex 24,10 is that of the PT as found in TJII, N and partly in Ngl. TJI differs but slightly from these.

שמיא כד אינון נקיין מן ענני	TJII
שמיא כד אינון נקיין מן ענגא	N
הוון נקיין מן ענניא	Ngl
שמיא כד הינון בירין מן ענניא	TJI

The obvious explanation is that the passage is drawing on the PT paraphrase to illustrate the difficult passage of the HT. This PT paraphrase must have then been current. If the words are those of Bar Kappara we have evidence of the PT to this text from c. 200 A.D. If they are not his words, the passage is witness for the PT for some later date from Amoraic times.

4. *PT Gn 29,17 cited in Palestine c. 250 A.D.* ([37]): Gn 29,17 says: "the eyes of Leah were weak (רכות) but Rachel was beautiful and lovely". Commenting on these words *Gen. R.* 70 recounts the following episode (Vat. Ebr. 30, f. 122b):

> *The eyes of Leah were weak*... The Amora of R. Joḥanan translated before him " The eyes of Leah were weak (עינה דלאה הווין רכיכין)". He said to him: "Your mother's eyes were weak (רכיכין). And what does רכות [in the HT] mean? (Weak) from weeping".

([37]) On this text see P. CHURGIN, "The Targum and the Septuagint", *AJSL* 50 (1933-34) 63 and J. LEVY, *WT s. vv.* צירניא (p. 323) and רכיך (p. 424).

The word "Amora" in this context is not to be taken in the more usual sense of a teacher of the Amoraic period. Such R. Joḥanan himself was. Together with this meaning the word is also used in the sense of "Meturgeman", and it is in this manner that it is to be taken in the present passage ([37a]). His office, then, would be similar to that of the "tanna" who learned traditional lore by heart and repeated it in the Academies when called on to do so. We learn from this text of *Gen. R.* that R. Joḥanan had with him a person on whom he could call to give a rendering of a scriptural verse. We can presume that this "amora" or "Meturgeman" of R. Joḥanan was representative of a class who had committed some traditional rendering of Scripture to heart, just as the "tannas" did for other sections of the oral Law. And his rendering of the text is precisely that which we find in the Peshitta, in TJII and in Ngl. These renderings, then, go back to the time of R. Joḥanan and we can take it that his Meturgeman was citing the PT as we now have it in these texts.

This rendering of the PT is that of the LXX: *οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ Λειας ἀσθενεῖς.*

The reason why R. Joḥanan disagreed with his amora's rendering is probably because this was seen "to speak disparagingly of the righteous". The text of Gn 29,17 is discussed in *BabBat* 123a and this is precisely the reason given why רכות cannot be taken to mean "weak".

We are then not surprised to find that O renders רכות by יאין: "nice, beautiful". *N is equally in conformity with rabbinic desires* as it renders the words by זקיפן בצלו: "raised in prayer". TJI, differing from TJII, Ngl and the Peshitta, would likewise displease the rabbis. It renders as: צירנייתן: "were discharging pus". With this rendering we may compare the Vg's *lippis oculis.*

5. *PT Gn 25,3 cited and censured c. 250 A.D.*: Gn 25,3 says that the sons of Dedan were אשורם ולטושים ולאמים. The LXX, Vg. and modern versions take all these as names of tribes: Ashurim, Letushim and Leummim. Not so the PT which sees in these words designations of occupations. We possess the PT to this verse in TJI, TJII, N and in citations in the *Aruk* and in a commentary on *Gen. R.* ascribed to RASHI. All these texts render Ashurim as תגרין, "traders", and Leummim as רישי אומין, "heads

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([37a]) Cf. the dictionaries of JASTROW (p. 76) and J. LEVY (*WTM*, 102) STR-B, IV, p. 163 renders "Amora" of our passage as "Dolmetscher". For the "tannas" role in Judaism see, *inter alia*, B. GERHARDSSON, *Memory and Manuscript*, Uppsala 1961, pp. 99 ff. etc.

of tribes". The texts differ in their rendering of Letushim. Here TJII's rendering as אומנין, "craftsmen" differs from that of the others which have אמפרין, "traders" or some similar form. We can take the rendering of TJII as the genuine PT. This we learn from St JEROME who knew of a popular rendering of this passage current in Palestine in his day. In *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* 25,3 he writes ([38]):

> Quod autem ait *et filii Dadan fuerunt Asurim et Letusim et Laomim*. Asurim in negotiatores transferri putant, LATUSIM IN AERIS FERRIQUE METALLA CUDENTES. Laomim uero φυλάρχους, id est principes multarum tribuum atque populorum.

This paraphrase may have been known to JEROME from a Greek rendering. *Gen. R.* 61 to Gn 25,3 gives us R. Samuel b. Naḥman's view of the same rendering then current in Aramaic. He says ([39]):

> Although they translate and say: 'Merchants and craftsmen and heads of tribes' (תגרין ולומפרין וראשי אומין) they are all names of tribes.

([38]) *CC*, Series Latina vol. 72, p. 31; PL 23, 1026. JEROME is witness of the same tradition in *Liber interp. hebr. nom.* (Genesis), CC, vol. 72, p. 68 where he interprets "Latusim" as *malleatores*. This text of JEROME shows that JASTROW (*Dictionary* p. 78) is in error when he derives אמפורין from the Greek ἔμποροι, and considers the word in the PT Gn 25,3 as a gloss to the preceding תגרין, "traders". In Gn 25,3 the PT clearly understands לטושים to come from the root לטש, "to polish, sharpen"; cf. לטישה, "hammering, furbishing". The text of JEROME is of importance for the history of the PT and the statement generally made that he nowhere mentions a Targum needs modification. It would be of interest to determine whether this current rendering of Gn 25,3 was in Greek or in Aramaic; the former would appear to be the case, but his informant may merely be translating for the benefit of the Westerner. Fr. STUMMER ("Beiträge zu dem Problem 'Hieronymus und die Targumim'", *Bib* 18 [1937] 174-181, esp. 180; cf. also id. *JPOS* 12 [1932] 6-21; *Bib, anno cit.*, pp. 23-50) believes that Ep 64 (*CSEL* 54, 598, 16-18), written in the Spring of 397, of JEROME indicates that Onkelos was introduced to Palestine from Babylon some short time previously. The reason is that there JEROME says that *ABANETH* (of Ex 28,4 etc.) *Babylonii novo vocabulo HEMIAN vocant. ABANETH* of the HT is rendered by this Babylonian (= Persian) word in O, not in TJI. The *Babylonii* would then be the Babylonian Jews while *novo vocabulo* would indicate the recent introduction of O into Palestine. It appears, unfortunately, that JEROME is here dependent on JOSEPHUS (*JA* 3,7,2 - a point noted by M. LEVI, *Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol.* 5 [1844] 189, note **), where the Jewish historian makes the very same remark as JEROME. We may also note now that N renders *ABANETH* by *HEMIAN*, just as O does.

([39]) We follow the text of THEODOR-ALBECK. Vat. Ebr. 30 differs somewhat.

The text he censures is that of the PT to this verse which must then have been current during his day, i.e. c. 250 A.D. The text of JEROME shows that it was so some hundred years later.

6. *R. Ḥelbo (c. 320 A.D.) and PT Gn 24,10*: According to Gn 24,10 Abraham's servant was sent to Aram Naharaim וכל טוב אדניו בידיו — "taking all sorts of choice gifts from his master". Explaining these Heb. words, R. Ḥelbo, a student of R. Samuel b. Naḥman who disagreed with the PT to Gn 25, 3, simply says: זו דיאתיקא — "this is his testament". This is precisely how the PT paraphrases Gn 24,10: וכל שפר דייתיקא דדיבוניה עמיה — "all the best of the testament of his master with him". This PT text is found in N, Paris 110 and in a citation in the *Aruk* (40). The rendering by דייתיקא — "testament" — suits the context of Gn 24,10 well as the good things the servant took with him were from among those which the aged Abraham had set aside for Isaac, his son and heir. The text of TJI, TJII (Polyglot), in the printed editions of the *Aruk* and in a citation in ELIAS LEVITA (41) read אפותיקי — "storehouse" — instead of "testament". This appears to be a *lectio facilior* and, in view of *Gen. R. ad loc.*, should be corrected to דייתיקא.

7. *TJI Lv 22,28 cited and censured c. 350 A.D.*: In view of the relation of the censured text with Lk 6,36 and Mt 5,48 we will consider this text in detail in ch 5 to which we refer the reader (42). The censured text is found only in TJI and both N and PTG, MS F, show indications that they once carried the condemned paraphrase.

Exigencies of space preclude a more detailed study of these early texts that have a direct bearing on the history of the PT before we possess its first written texts. The entire question could be studied more at length with some profit for the age of the same paraphrase.

8. *Written texts of the PT from the 7th-11th centuries: the Cairo Geniza*: So far we have considered only PT citations. P. KAHLE (43) has published several MSS bearing texts of the PT written from the 7th or 8th centuries onwards. This shows that an entire Targum of Palestine to the Pentateuch was already consigned to writing about the end of the seventh century at the latest. The tradition that lies behind this must have been formed much earlier. Since P. KAHLE's publication of the Geniza texts in 1930 other

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(40) Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 97.

(41) Cf. *ibid.*; ELIAS LEVITA also knows of the reading.

(42) Below pp. 134 ff.

(43) In *MdW*, pp. 1-62. The early dating of P. KAHLE is denied by J. L. TEICHER (*VT* 1 [1951] 125-29). Cf. also A. DÍEZ MACHO (*VT* 8 [1958] 116).

PTG fragments have been identified and published by A. DÍEZ MACHO [44] and W. BAARS [45]. Further fragments await publication [46].

9. *A Response of Gaon Sar Shalom (c. 860) and the PT* [47]: In the 9th century, Gaon Sar Shalom received a query on the Tg to the Pentateuch mentioned in the (Babylonian) Talmud, which Tg appears to have been then in common use. In his reply he states:

> The Targum of which the sages speak is that which is in our hands. The other Targums have not, however, the same sanctity as this. And I have heard from the earlier sages that God has done a great deed for Onkelos the Proselyte that the Targum was made by him.

This is the first time that Onkelos is called the author of the Tg to the Pentateuch outside the text of the Babylonian Talmud we find in *Meg.* 3a. The "other Targums less holy than that of Onkelos" are, presumably [47a], Tgs to the Pentateuch and can hardly be any others than the variant texts of the PT, which, as we know from the Cairo fragments, were already in writing for a century and a half before Sar Shalom's day.

10. *R. Hai Gaon (c. 1038) and the PT*: From the first half of the 11th century we have an important document on the history of the PT that comes to us in the form of a Gaonic response. Two forms of this response exist and are published in HARKAVY's [48] collection of Gaonic responses. A shorter form bears the superscription of Hai Gaon while the longer form is anonymous. M. GINSBURGER [49] has made a study of the responses. He came to the conclusion that they are both but variants of a single original. The differences between the two forms are not too important from our point of view. The response itself was very probably a reply sent by

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[44] "Nuevos fragmentos del Targum palestinense", *Sefarad* 15 (1955) 31-39.

[45] "A Targum on Exod. XV 7-21 from the Cairo Geniza", *VT* 11 (1961) 340-42; on this text see below p. 206.

[46] Cf. *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963) 117 and *Noticias cristianas de Israel,* 13 (1962) 24.

[47] The reply is found in שערי תשובות no. 330, p. 29 of the Leipzig ed. of the Gaonic responses. The Hebrew text can be seen in BERLINER, *Onkelos II,* Berlin 1884, p. 172, n. 2. G. DALMAN gives the text in German translation in *Grammatik*[2], p. 12, n. 2.

[47a] There remains the possibility, of course, that the Tgs to the Prophets, Hagiographa, or both, are intended.

[48] *Teŝûbôt ha-Geonim,* pp. 124 f.; cp. pp. 6 f.

[49] In *REJ* 42 (1901) 232-36.

the Gaon to R. Jacob ben Nissim, head of the Jewish community of Kairwan in Africa. The query itself is lost but we can learn of its contents from the reply, the relevant part of which is as follows ([50]):

> And as regards what you have mentioned concerning what we have said on the question of one who translates a passage literally and one who adds to it: both one and the other of these is forbidden.
>
> And (we reply) that we have only our Targum as is explained in the Talmud.
>
> And regarding what you asked about the Targum of Palestine: by whom was it composed, and the explanations that exist in it on matters of halakoth [?] ([51]) and haggadoth, why are these added to it?
>
> We do not know who composed the Targum of Palestine; in fact we do not even know the Targum itself and we have heard speak of it but little. But if they [i.e. communities of Palestinian origin] possess a tradition that it was recited in the congregation from the days of the former sages such as R. Ammi and R. Asi and R. El'ai and R. Abun and R. Abba and R. Isaac Nappaḥa, or even in the days of R. Abba and R. Ḥananiah the latter (sages) who lived in the days of R. Asi, it is to be considered just as our Targum, as otherwise it would not have been recited before these princes (lit. "columns of the world") ...

The reason for the query is clear. The community of the person who sent the question to R. Hai was using the PT which they believed was that of 4th century Palestine. Its midrashic character seemed to run counter to the principle of R. Judah ben Ilai which we have already cited ([52]). According to this, one who rendered literally was a falsifier while he who added to the text was a blasphemer... R. Hai replied that he had heard little of the PT and had never seen it. The rendering was then known in the east in eleventh century and was still in use in Africa.

([50]) The Hebrew Text is given in BERLINER, *o. c.*, pp. 173-75.

([51]) The Hebrew has קמנות which BERLINER (*o. c.*, p. 173, n. 2) understands as "halakoth". M. GINSBURGER (*a. c.*, p. 234) takes it to mean small midrashim such as PRE in contradistinction to the larger midrashim.

([52]) P. 41 above.

11. *R. Judah ben Barzillai* (c. *1100 A.D.*) *and the PT*: G. DALMAN ([53]) has published the view on the PT expressed by R. Judah ben Barzillai (i.e. of Barcelona) in his unpublished work *Sefer ha-'Ittim*. It is as follows:

> And (as regards) the Targum of Palestine which contains haggadic additions, their sextons, on their initiative, have added and said that it was permitted to read it in the synagogue since it is (merely) a commentary (i.e. not properly speaking a Targum).

Here, as in the preceding citation, we have the paraphrastic nature of the PT mentioned. In both cases there is probably question of written texts of the PT, and presumably to the entire Pentateuch at that. We know from PTG, MS F, that there existed in the 10/11th centuries MSS with only sections of the PT for feastdays ([54]).

12. *PT citations from the 11-16th centuries* ([55]): MSS of PT must have existed from the 11-16th centuries as we find citations from it in certain writers from this period. In the writings of R. Hai Gaon and R. Judah ben Barzillai our paraphrase is called "The Targum of Palestine" (תרגום ארץ ישראל [של]); from the 11th century onwards, as a general rule, it is referred to as Targum Yerushalmi, not as the Targum of Palestine.

The most important writers who carry PT citations during this period are R. NATHAN in his dictionary, i.e. the *Aruk* ([56]); the commentary on *Gen. R.* falsely ascribed to RASHI; R. David KIMḤI ([57]); Samson BEN ABRAHAM; MENAḤEM ben Aaron IBN SERAḤ of Navarre (c. 1308-1385); David ben

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([53]) *Grammatik*², p. 30.

([54]) For this MS see KAHLE, *MdW*, pp. 49-62 and p. 3*.

([55]) These citations have been collected and studied by L. ZUNZ, *GV*², pp. 71 ff.; J. BASSFREUND, *Das Fragmenten-Targum...*, pp. 16 ff.; there are also collections in M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, pp. 91 ff.; A. MERX, reviewing GINSBURGER, *ZIIB* 6 (1902, no. 4) 122 f.; Ch. HELLER, *Essay on the Palestinian Targum*, New York 1921; (in Heb. with English introduction).

([56]) The *Aruk* citations from the Tgs are noted in KOHUT's index to the work, Vienna 1892, pp. 18 ff.

([57]) According to H. COHEN (*The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Hoshea*, Columbia Univ. Oriental Ser., New York 1929, pp. XXV f., n. 11) the Palestinian Tg is cited 13 times in KIMḤI's *Dictionary* and in the following passages of his commentaries: Gn 1,5.11.14; 2,8; 4,8.26; 1 Sam 2,14; 2 Sam 21,19; Is 15,1; 54,12; Jer 17,1; Ezek 1,3; 5,1; Hos 13,14 [= PT Dt 19,5]; Ps 80,14. KIMḤI also cites the *Targum shel Tosefta*, see L. ZUNZ, *GV*², pp. 77 ff. and W. BACHER (*ZDMG* 28 [1874] 3 ff.). See also Z. FRANKEL, *Zu dem Targum der Propheten*, Breslau 1872 (on KIMḤI's relation to PT) and W. BACHER (*MJWJ* 20 [1871] 208 ff.; 21 [1872] 408 ff.; on KIMḤI and Tgs in general).

ABUDRAHAM of Seville (*fl.* 1300-1345); MENAḤEM RECANATI (c. 1320); ELIAS LEVITA (1541) ([57a]) and ABRAHAM de BALMES (1523).

These citations bridge the period between the Cairo texts and the extant MSS and the printed editions of the PT. The citations are important for the textual criticism of the PT, and can be used to determine whether 16th cent. MSS, such as N, are later compilations or are attested in earlier writings.

V. The Targum of Onkelos

All that we need mention here on the Tg of O is that the traditional view held it was composed in Palestine and brought from there to Babylon where it received various redactions to bring it into line with the biblical text and official halakah. In this view it can be usefully studied for parallels for certain NT texts. P. KAHLE ([58]) has put forward a different theory on the origin of O. Seeing that it is never mentioned or used in writings of Palestinian origin he maintains that it was composed, not in Palestine, but in Babylon and was not introduced into Palestine until some time about the 10th century. In more recent times both E. Y. KUTSCHER ([59]) and P. WERNBERG-MØLLER ([60]) have defended the traditional view of the origin of O against that of Professor KAHLE. In the course of this study we shall see that some NT texts favour the Palestinian origin of O ([61]).

VI. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan (TJI)

This Tg is to be placed in a class apart among PT texts. It is first mentioned in the 13th century. Its text seems to be mainly that of the PT which has been worked over in many places in an attempt to reduce it to that of O. Even in sections where its text is not that of O it differs at times from that of other PT representatives. A comparison of TJI and TJII with PT citations from the 11th-14th centuries has shown that the Fragment Targ. is more akin to the source from which the citations

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([57a]) For his life and work cf. now G. E. WEIL, *Elias Levita* (1469-1549), *Humaniste et Massorète* (Studia post-Biblica 7), Leiden 1963.

([58]) *The Cairo Geniza*[2], pp. 194 ff.

([59]) Cf. "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon', A Preliminary Study", *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. IV (Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls), Jerusalem 1958, 8, pp. 9 ff.

([60]) Cf. *Studia Theologica* 15 (1961) 126-82, esp. pp. 178 ff.; *JSS* 7 (1962) 253-66.

([61]) Below pp. 130 f.; cf. p. 258.

come than pseudo-Jon., "for in instances where both the Frag. Targ. and pseudo-Jon. exist, over 100 are found in the Frag. Targ. while only about 20 are found in pseudo-Jon. which are wanting in the Frag. Targum" ([62]).

Another aspect of TJI that merits attention is the number of anti-halakic passages it contains. 12 such have been noted and there are possibly many more. We have considered some of them already (Lv 18,21; 22,28). It also appears to preserve older Jewish midrash and exegesis of certain texts. In Gn 6,2.4, for instance, it identifies the "Nephilim" with the angels " Shamḥazai and 'Uziel that fell from heaven", though Gn 6,2 shows that its text has been affected by O, whose rendering it reproduces verbatim in Palestinian Aramaic, and takes the "sons of God" to be "the sons of the mighty". A. MARMORSTEIN ([63]) has made a study of the halakah of TJI and found it to be similar to that of PHILO and the Karaites. He came to the conclusion that TJI's halakah may have been contemporary with PHILO and have served as a source for the later Karaites.

Another aspect of TJI is the presence of paraphrases and haggadoth not found in other PT texts. Some such are clearly later additions, or interpolations, to the text of TJI. As such we may class the mention of Adisha and Fatima, the wife and daughter of Mohammed (Gn 21,21) and that of the six orders of the Mishnah (Ex 26,9). We can clearly class TJI Ex 14,2 as an interpolation from the Mekilta, Beshallaḥ 2,4 to Ex 14,2 as its language is that of the Mekilta and differs from that of the PT as found elsewhere in TJI ([64]). This by no means implies that the passages of TJI not paralleled in other PT texts are interpolations that do not represent a genuine PT ([64a]). Each case has to be examined on its own merits. Many such passages of TJI appear to be genuinely old. The Tg of TJI presents a special class, and special problems, among PT texts. Its paraphrase gives indications of the greatest antiquity but has, likewise, evidently recent references. It had a special history of transmission within Judaism, retaining anti-halakic passages not found in other PT texts. We shall see in the course of this study that TJI shows a close relation with certain NT passages, and this in texts where its rendering is not paralleled by any other

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([62]) Art. "Targum" in *IIDB* 4 (1902) 680, following BASSFREUND, *Das Fragmententargum zum Pent.*, 1896, p. 21.

([63]) Cf. *ZAW* NF 8 (1931) 234 f., 241 f.

([64]) It renders "Pi-Hahiroth" of Ex 14,19 as פומי חירתא ("the Mouths of Hiratha"), the rendering of O and the Mekilta, whereas the PT rendering is פונדקי חירתא and is that found in TJI Nm 33,8.

([64a]) Cf. P. GRELOT, *RB* 71 (1964) 266 f. and below pp. 258 f.

PT representative. The history of this rendering of the OT has yet to be precisely determined and is that of all PT texts which shows closest relation with the NT.

VII. The Targum of Neofiti I

The discovery and character of N has already been sufficiently described by other writers and can be omitted in our present discussion ([65]). We need only make some observations on its presumed date and on one or other point.

A. DÍEZ MACHO, who found the Tg and is editing it, cites Professor ALBRIGHT on the geographical data we find in N. This "geographical information", he writes, "points to the Roman period, to the second century A.D. as the date of the last recension of ... N" ([66]). A. DÍEZ MACHO writes further on, after a study of the geographical terms of the work and of the relation of N to the HT and NT ([67]):

> The general conclusion of the foregoing evidence seems to be this: the PT, even if its present recension, preserved in the Ms Neofiti I, seems to belong to the first or second century A.D., is on the whole a prechristian version.

Even if one concedes there are strong arguments for this early date of the bulk of the work, one may legitimately doubt whether in its present recension N dates from the second century A.D. There are clear indications that N has received a rather severe rabbinic recension to bring it into line with rabbinic views, at least, on major points of halakah. We have noticed in our study of early rabbinic references to the PT how N seems at pains to abide by official halakah. It leaves the passages of Scripture indicated in M *Meg.* 4,10 untranslated ([68]). This in itself is not important as the rule is probably pre-Mishnaic. However, it also abides by the Mishnaic ruling on the rendering of Lv 18,21 ([69]); on the view of R. Johanan (c. 250 A.D.) and the Talmud on Gn 29,27 ([70]) and it appears to have omitted the censured

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([65]) For literature see n. 144 to the preceding chapter.

([66]) "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum... ", *VTS* 7 (1959) 229; cf. *id.*, *Sefarad* 20 (1960) 3.

([67]) *Ibid.*, p. 236.

([68]) See above pp. 46 ff.

([69]) Cf. pp. 49 ff. above.

([70]) Pp. 53 f. above.

paraphrase of Lv 22,28 (71). All this can scarcely be accidental. R. LE DÉAUT (72) has noted that some of the anti-halakic passages of TJI are absent from N. Its relation to later Jewish exegesis has yet to be examined. It is worthy of note that N renders "the sons of God" of Gn 6,2.4 as "the sons of the judges". This is the view of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai, as we learn from *Gen. R. ad loc.*

An examination of nineteen texts from early Palestinian rabbinic writings where Tgs are cited, referred to or presupposed (73), has shown us that, in all but three of them, N carries exactly the text in question or is, at least, very close to it. If one were to pass a provisional judgement on N it would be that it represents a very old text of the PT that was familiar to Palestinian rabbis and was edited by them to bring it into line with the major points of halakah. The basis of N would then be very old, but its present recension is from later and talmudic times. This judgement can only be provisional, but it is the one that seems to flow from the textual evidence.

Another point to be noted in N is that it presents a certain uniformity in its rendering of certain words and phrases of the HT. Thus we find that בעת ההיא ("at that time") of the HT is rendered in N invariably as בשעתא ההיא ("in that hour"); "a land flowing with milk and honey" is rendered throughout N in a uniform paraphrastic manner. קנה when it means "to buy" is translated as זבן; when it means "to create, possess" as קנה. תמים ("perfect") when referring to persons is invariably rendered as שלם בעבדה טבה ("perfect in good work"), when referring to sacrificial animals as שלם מן מום, ("perfect without blemish") (74). הולך or מתהלך when used of God accompanying the Israelites is rendered as מדבר ("to lead"), so much so that at times מדבר in N appears to mean no more than "to accompany" (75).

VIII. The Nature of the Palestinian Targum

The PT in its language and expressions appears as a liturgical one. This we see from the recurrence of such expressions as "My people, children

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(71) See pp. 137 f. below.

(72) *La nuit pascale*, p. 41.

(73) The study of these nineteen texts can be seen in *La Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 41 (1966) 1-15.

(74) With this cp. 1 Pt 1,19. The entire context of 1 Pt 1.13 ff. appears to be a midrash on Ex 12 and should be compared with the PT to the chapter.

(75) See notes 61 f. to chapter VII below.

of Israel", a phrase used in the liturgy ([76]). Its paraphrasis classes the PT among the older type of rendering, originating probably at a time when the homily was not yet distinct from the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular.

A point that must be noted is that the PT must be taken as a public, not a private Targum. The PT was only reduced to the status of a private Tg when superseded by O some time towards the end of the first millennium ([77]). Before that time the evidence at our disposal indicates that the PT was used in the synagogues of Palestine. When Rabbinism grew strong certain sections of the old PT were probably omitted, although retained in TJI. Before Judaism came under the sway of the rabbis it is likely that the PT had certain haggadoth and halakoth that are absent from our present PT texts.

The liturgical nature of the PT explains how certain traditions no longer found in rabbinic writings may still be found there. These old liturgical texts were of less interest to the rabbis than were halakic ones, which atter were the guide for Jewish life. The rabbis were, then, less interested in bringing the PT into line with every point of halakah and official teaching. In this the PT differs from O, which was made to reflect the official Jewish understanding of the MT.

IX. The Date of the Palestinian Targum

The criteria for dating rabbinic material and the PT have been worked out by various authors and the point has been dealt with at length by R. LE DÉAUT ([78]), to whose work we refer the reader. Much more work must be done according to these various criteria before anything definite can be said on the date of the PT as a whole from the viewpoint of Jewish sources.

We wish to repeat here what we have already said. The PT was probably transmitted as a whole and not in isolated phrases. The substantial unity of the varying forms of the paraphrase found in the PT indicates that, after a certain formative period, one basic form of the Pentateuch came to be accepted within Palestinian Judaism, or sections of it. It is the PT. When and how this paraphrase was formed we cannot say. But, once it

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([76]) Cf. I. ELBOGEN, *GV*², pp. 188.192. It introduces the paraphrase on the individual commandments; for an example see n. 4 to ch. V.

([77]) Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum* p. XV.

([78]) *La nuit pascale*, pp. 41-71.

was constituted, the natural thing would be that it came to be transmitted *as a unit*, i.e. to be considered as traditional material to be handed on as such. Each generation, in other words, would not have to make its own rendering. Once the version had been made, the task of the Meturgemanin would be to repeat a traditional translation rather than to make a new one. That this was so seems indicated by what we know of later Judaism which was repetitive rather than creative. Within Judaism there were professional traditionists who learned traditional material by heart and were expected to transmit it faithfully as occasion required. These traditionists are generally associated with the handing on of halakic and midrashic lore. The text of *Gen. R.* 70 ([79]) indicates that they could also give targumic renderings, and in the case in question it was one that, though displeasing his rabbi, is still found in some extant PT texts. The importance of the text is that it points to the existence of a class within Judaism who learned the targumic rendering by heart, transmitting it even when it could run counter to rabbinic principles. Such a class would memorize a body of tradition, not mere isolated phrases. The task of the Meturgemanin, despite the ideal picture of the Mishnah, may also have very well been to know the traditional rendering and transmit it. Each Meturgeman would scarcely have made his own independent rendering of the MT. We know that O was transmitted orally within the synagogues of Babylonian Judaism. In this case, however, its text was under the keen eyes of the rabbis who had it conform with accepted halakah. We may presume that in Palestine, too, the PT was transmitted as a whole by the Meturgemanin who would have known it by heart as their Babylonian counterparts knew O. Since the western rabbis, by and large, appear to have interfered little with the PT text, it would follow that our present text of this Tg has been faithfully transmitted from early, even pre-Christian, times. This seems to be the conclusion that follows from the nature of things taken in conjunction with the PT citations we have considered. The variety so evident between PT texts, not however to be exaggerated, does not invalidate this assumption. It can be explained either as an accident of the period of oral formation of the PT tradition or as arising during the period of oral transmission. The entire question of the formation and transmission of the PT tradition deserves very close study. The assumption, nonetheless, we believe to be valid.

As we have said already, later additions and recensional emendations in some texts cannot be denied. These, however, are very probably the

([79]) Cf. pp. 53 f. above.

exception and do not invalidate the arguments in favour of an early date for the bulk of the material ([80]). The overall relation of the PT and NT appears to be one of the strongest arguments for the early date of the PT as a whole and to this we now turn. We shall also go into the dating of a particular text of the TJI later ([81]) in the thesis where we consider it may be more aptly discussed.

([80]) Cf. p. 35 above. The presumption in favour of an early date for the PT as a whole may be indicated by the convergence of various arguments; this will invite NT exegetes to have recourse to it. Any individual text of the PT may be proved of later date (e. g. TJI Gn 21,21); it may be proved early by the existence of dated parallel texts (TJI Ex 40,4; cf. pp. 197 f. and n. 31 below). Even without such texts a true NT parallel (as TJI Nm 7,89 is to 2 Cor 3,17; cf. pp. 182-88 below) is a strong argument for a pre-Christian date of a PT passage.

([81]) Cf. pp. 112-117 below. Seeing that only rare use is made of the other Tgs and of midrashic writings we consider it preferable to give the required information on them as occasion demands, rather than do so in this introduction. For Tg to Prophets see p. 123, n. 89; for Tg to Psalms pp. 80 f., n. 27 a; Tg Lamentations p. 163, n. 26.

PART ONE

PART I

A CONSIDERATION OF SOME PT TEXTS APPARENTLY CLOSELY RELATED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

In this part of the dissertation we shall consider some PT texts which appear to bear a very close relation to certain passages of the NT. Having shown how close this relation is in the two following chapters (chh III and IV) we shall later (chh VI and VII) consider the same themes more in detail and at greater length, thereby indicating that the relation of the PT to the NT is not restricted to a few points but can be seen in a number of NT passages and throughout an entire book, i. e. the Apocalypse. In this sense we may consider the texts we are to examine in chh III and IV as representative of the general relation of the PT to the NT under the headings which we study. Though we will, occasionally, pass from consideration of the PT to that of other targumic texts, our main source throughout will be the PT itself.

Chapter III

TRADITIONS RELATING TO MOSES, JANNES AND JAMBRES, IN THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM AND IN ST PAUL

I. Moses in PT Dt 30,12-14 and Rm 10,6-8 [1]

1. *Rm 10,6-8 and its context*: In his treatment of God's temporary rejection of the chosen people Paul sadly remarks that the Jews 'have zeal for God, but it is not enlightened' (Rm 10,2). God had, in point of fact, called the Gentiles to salvation without requiring circumcision of them. The Jews refused to see the hand of God in this new dispensation. The facts of sacred history now clearly indicated that salvation came by faith in Jesus Christ without the prior necessity of circumcision. In Rm 10 Paul shows how this is implicit in the very principles of Scripture. For this purpose he cites Is 28,16: "No one who believes in him will be put to shame". In the NT economy this text means that Christ, the Risen Saviour and Lord, is near to everyone who unites himself to him by faith.

In 10,5-8 Paul contrasts the righteousness of the Law with that which comes from faith. "Moses writes of the righteousness that is based on the Law: *The man who practises it shall live by it* [Lv 18,5]", (Rm 10,5). In this verse the biblical text is cited according to the LXX with certain modifications, required to have the citation fit its new context. The LXX, in turn, reproduces the HT faithfully. The citation is also introduced as the words of Moses. The situation is different in the following verses (6-8) in which Justification-through-Faith personified is made to speak.

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[1] Cf. S. Lyonnet S.J. "Saint Paul et l'exégèse juive de son temps. A propos de *Rom.*, 10,6-8" in *Mélanges Robert*, Paris 1957, pp. 494-506; *Quaestiones in Epistolam ad Romanos*, Series altera, ed. altera, Rome 1962, pp. 90-106, esp. "Excursus V: De modo argumentandi ex Deut 30,11-4", pp. 94-106.

But the righteousness that is based on faith speaks thus:

> "Do not say in your heart: 'Who will ascend to heaven?'; *that is, to bring Christ down*; 'Who will descend into the abyss?'; *that is, to bring Christ up from the dead.* But what does it say? 'The word is near to you, on your lips and in your heart'. That is the word of faith which we preach".

ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει· μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν. ἢ· τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον; τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγει; ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμά ἐσπιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τοῦτ' ἔσπιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν.

This passage makes a clear allusion to Dt 30,12-14, a text that is rendered faithfully in the LXX apart from a minor addition – *καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου* — in v. 14. In the context Moses tells the Jews that they are to obey the law he has promulgated if they wish to avoid the curses and enjoy the blessings that God has attached to the abandonment and fulfilment of his precepts. In 30,12-14 he says:

> For the commandment which I command you this day is not too hard for you, neither is it far off. (12) It is not in heaven that you should say: Who will go up for us to heaven and bring it down to us that we may hear it and do it? (13) Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say: Who will go over the sea for us (LXX *τίς διαπεράσει ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*) and bring it to us that we may hear it and do it? (14) But the word is very near to you; it is in your mouth and in your heart (LXX adds *καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου*) so that you can do it.

2. *Rm 10,6-8 compared with Dt 30,12-14*: The text of Deuteronomy presents no difficulty: Moses tells his people that the Law of God has been promulgated and they can have access to it at all times. There is no need to attempt difficult or impossible feats in order to come to know it. It is ever at their disposal.

A comparison of the texts in Rm and Dt shows that Paul has only taken certain portions of the OT text, omitting anything that refers to the works of the law, such as 'to hear it and do it' and, naturally, 'in your hands' which the LXX added to 30,14. These omissions are only natural as he places the words of Dt on the lips of Justification-through-

faith personified, which he is contrasting with the justification that is based on the Law, or justification through works.

Another point to be noted is that Paul does not follow the biblical text, either of the HT or LXX, exactly. Where the HT and LXX have 'go over the sea', Paul writes 'descend into the abyss'. A peculiar feature of Paul's use of the text of Deuteronomy is that he thrice cites passages from Dt 30,12-14 and immediately applies them to the NT situation. This is typical midrashic exegesis as we know it from rabbinic writings and from those of the Qumran community. The actual words (*τοῦτ' ἔστιν*) used by Paul in his application are found in rabbinic writings (2). The Pauline method recalls the *pesher* commentaries of Qumran where a biblical text is cited and is immediately applied to a later situation with the words: 'Interpreted, this concerns...' (פשרו על). As an example we may give the Qumran *pesher* on Habakkuk (1QpHab) II,1-10:

> [*Look among the nations, and see; wonder and be astounded. For I am doing a work in your days that you will not believe if you are*] *told* (Hab 1,5). [Interpreted this concerns] those who were unfaithful ... in that they [did] not [listen to the word received by] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New [Covenant] in that they have not believed in the covenant of God [and have profaned] his holy Name. And likewise this saying is to be interpreted [as concerning those who] will be unfaithful at the end of the days. They, the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that [is to happen to] the final generation from the priest [in whose heart] God set [understanding] that he might interpret all the words of his servants the prophets, through whom he foretold all that would happen to his people and [his land] (3).

3. *Rm 10,6-8 and PT Dt 30,12-14*: Our purpose here is to compare Rm 10,6-8 with PT Dt 30,12-14 rather than give a commentary on the

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(2) Cf. J. BONSIRVEN *L'Exégèse rabbinique et l'exégèse paulinienne* (Bibliothèque de théologie historique), Paris 1939, pp. 42 ff. 307.

(3) Published by M. BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* vol. I, New Haven 1950, plate IV; English translation by G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Penguin Books, 1962, p. 233. With this pesher on Hab 1,5 cp. Paul's use of the same text in Act 13,41 and F. F. BRUCE's remarks in *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, London 1960, pp. 81 f.

NT passage. For this the reader can consult the commentaries and Fr LYONNET's detalied study (4). It is a curious fact that an important passage of the PT bearing on Paul's use of Dt 30,12-14 has passed unnoticed for centuries. No mention of this text is found in J. C. WOLFIUS (5) or C. SCHOETTGEN (6), though the former refers to a note of FAGIUS on Onkelos *ad locum* (7). Str.-B. cite TJII Dt 30,12 as a parallel to Jn 3,13 but make no reference to this Tg in the three pages and a half devoted to the Jewish parallels on Rm 10,6-8 (9). They cite O and TJI to these verses and note that the rendering of these Tgs on the verses is "wortgetreu", except that TJI paraphrases v. 14 somewhat (10). H. St. J. THACKERAY (11) notes that TJII introduces a reference to Jonah's descent into the great sea into its paraphrase. He fails, however, to establish any relation between TJII and the NT text. H. C. G. MOULE (12) remarks that TJII to Dt 30,12-14 "has a remarkable paraphrase", which he cites according to ETHERIDGE's English translation. He fails to develop the point, which was done only half a century later by S. LYONNET (13).

O renders these verses literally. So does TJI (who, however, does not here reproduce O), apart from paraphrasing "the sea" as "the great sea" and rendering "near to you" of 14 as "near to you in your schools" (14).

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(4) *L. c.* in n. 1. above.

(5) *Curae philologicae et criticae in IV priores S. Pauli epistolas*, Hamburg 1737, 2nd, ed., p. 211.

(6) *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae in universum N.T.*, Dresden and Leipzig 1733; cf. pp. 550 f.

(7) For the text of FAGIUS see *Critici Sacri*, ed. London, 1660, col. 1347.

(8) II, 425. They cite only the first part of the paraphrase on "one like the prophet Moses, to bring down the Law"; no reference is made to the paraphrase on Jonah.

(9) III, pp. 278-81.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 278.

(11) *The Relation of Saint Paul to Contempory Jewish Thought*, London 1900, p. 188. THACKERAY, however, is mainly interested in the parallel the text offers to the "abyss" of Rm 20,7.

(12) *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (CBSC), Cambridge 1894, p. 181.

(13) *O. c.* The text of TJII has escaped even W. D. DAVIES (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1948, pp. 153 f.) who treats of this text of Romans and shows his disagreement with WINDISCH (*Die Weisheit und die paulinische Christologie*, pp. 223 f.) who thinks Paul refers the words of Dt to wisdom (as Bar 3,29 ff. does) with which Paul in Rm 10,6-8 would identify Christ.

(14) O. MICHEL, *Der Brief an die Römer*, Göttingen 1955, p. 225, n. 4, thinks that Paul in Rm 10,6-8 combats the interpretation given in this paraphrase.

The PT to the verses is extant in its entirety in N and to certain parts in TJII ([14a]), Ngl and in an *Aruk* citation ([15]). The text of the *Aruk* has nothing significant to offer. TJII renders 12a-c only and differs from N only in a single word (ייתי, "bring" instead of יסב, "fetch", etc.). The glosses of N are brief and are on parallel opening parts of vv. 12 and 13. The first reads:

מן יסק לן לשמיא היך משה נבייא — "Who will ascend to heaven for us like Moses the Prophet?"

The second reads thus:

מן ייעבר לנא מעבר לימה רבה היך יונא נבייא — "Who will cross over the Great Sea for us like the Prophet Jonah?"

The first portion of these glosses is a faithful rendering of the biblical text and is almost that of Paul, who reproduces the LXX of 30,12 omitting *ἡμῖν*. The second part of both glosses is the PT paraphrase. The first part of the second gloss, adhering to the MT, fails to give the parallel to Paul which we find in N whose text and rendering we give here. Italics show where the paraphrase departs from the MT.

לא בשמיא היא אוריתה למימר — 12 The Law is not in heaven that one may say:

לווי הוה לן חד כמשה נבייא — *"Would that we had one like the the prophet Moses*

די יסוק לשמיא ויסב יתה לן — *who would ascend to heaven and fetch it for us*

וישמע יתן פקודייה ונעבד יתהון. — and make us hear the commandments that we might do them".

([14a]) Cf. M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 65.

([15]) The text of TJII can be found in Walton with a Latin rendering; an English translation is given by J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.*, vol. II, London 1865. The Paris MS 110 of TJII has the PT only to v. 12a. and this appears to be a gloss introduced from some other MS. It is printed by M. GINSBURGER in *Das Fragmententhargum* (*Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch*), Berlin 1899, p. 65, and rendered into German by Str.-B. II, p. 425 to Jn 3,13. It may be this edition of M. GINSBURGER that has led Str.-B. to pass by the paraphrase of TJII as given in the earlier Polyglot texts; cf. n. 8. above and see below pp. 139 f. The citation of the *Aruk* is *s.v.* לווי.

ולא מן עבר לימה רבה היא אוריתה למימר	13 Neither is the Law beyond the Great Sea that one may say:
לוי הוה לן חד כיונה נביא	*"Would that we had one like the prophet Jonah*
די יחות לעמקוי דימה רבה ויסק יתה לן	*who would descend into the depths of the Great Sea and bring it up* (16) *for us*
וישמע לן פיקודייה ונעבד יתהון.	and make us hear the commandments that we might do them".

4. *Commentary*: In v. 13 N renders "the sea" of the HT as "the Great Sea". The same expression occurs in the paraphrase, where, however, we have "to descend into the depths of the Great Sea" instead of the biblical texts "going beyond the sea". "The Great Sea" into which Jonah descended according to the paraphrase is the abyss (17) and the midrashic interpretation may be due to Jon 2,3 where the prophet says that "the abyss" (MT and Tg תהום; LXX *ἄβυσσος*) was round about him.

The PT gives a faithful paraphrase of the HT. The underlying idea seems to be that the Law must be given by a prophet and it says that there is no need for any new prophet to bring the Law to them again. The Law was given by Moses once for all time.

The reference to Moses ascending to take the Law from heaven is based on Ex 19,20 where the biblical text says: "The Lord came down on Mount Sinai to the top of the mountain and the Lord called Moses to the top of the mountain and Moses went up". Where the Shekinah of the Lord was, there also was heaven. Rather than speak of Moses ascending into heaven it would be more precise, according to the language of the PT and NT Judaism, to say that heaven descended on Mount Sinai. Later Jewish midrash speaks of Moses being borne on a cloud to heaven (18). The PT has a different terminology and speaks of the

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(16) R. LE DÉAUT, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament*, Rome 1965, pp. 44 f., notes that, of all the PT passages, N is the one nearest to Paul's text in Rm 10,6-8.

(17) "The Great Sea" in the Bible ordinarily meant the Mediterranean (Nm 30,5 f.; Jos 1,4 etc.) into which Jonah was thrown (Jon 1,15; cp. 1,3). "The depths of the Great Sea" of PT Dt 30,13 are to be understood in the sense of "abyss", nonetheless.

(18) These texts are collected by Str.-B. III, pp. 596-8 to Eph. 4,8, and also by L. GINZBERG; see *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. VII (Index), Philadelphia 1938, p. 323, under "Moses, the ascensions of".

heavens being bowed down and descending during theophanies. As an example we may cite the theophany at the sacrifice of Isaac (TJII and PTG MS F to Lv 22,27; TJII, N Ex 12,42; in Paris 110 Ex 15,18) "*The heavens were bowed down and descended* and Isaac saw their perfections" (cf. TJI Gn 27,1). This theophany of Sinai is described in the very same terms in PSEUDO-PHILO and 4 Esdras. *LAB* 15,6 [19] has: "Et adduxi eos ante conspectum montis Sinai et *inclinavi coelos et descendi* incendere lucernam populo meo". In 4 Esd 3,18 we read [20]:

> Et factum est cum educeres semen eius (i. e. Jacob's) ex Aegypto, et adduxisti eos super montem Sina. (v. 18) *et inclinasti caelos*, et statuisti terram, et commouisti orbem, et tremere fecisti abyssos, et conturbasti saeculum. (19) Et transiit gloria tua portas quattuor, ignis et terrae motus et spiritus et gelus; ut dares semini Iacob legem, et generationi Israel diligentiam.

These two texts from the 1st cent. A.D. are in themselves an argument for the early date of the PT which represents the same terminology and concepts. It is in the light of these texts that we must interpret this ascent of Moses mentioned in PT Dt 30,12. It is also referred to in TJI and N to Dt 34,5 which speaks of the four crowns with which Moses was adorned. One was "the crown of the Law, because he took it from heaven on high and there was revealed to him above him the glory of the Shekinah of the Lord with 12,000 myriads of angels and 2,000 fiery chariots". For further references to the ascents of Moses for the Law cf. TJI, N Dt 32,4; Tg Cant 1,10.

5. *Comparison of TJII, N Dt 30,12-14 with Rm 10,6-8*: The similarity with which the text of Dt is treated in the PT and Rm is certainly striking, Both render the MT on the ascent to heaven literally; both paraphrase 'going beyond the sea' as 'descending into the abyss'. The PT and Rm

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[19] Ed. G. KISCH, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Notre Dame, Indiana 1949, p. 155. R. BLOCH and others prefer the text of the *editio princeps* of 1527 (cf. p. 15 above) to that published by G. KISCH (see "Note méthodologique...", *RSR* 43 [1955] 206, n. 13; G. VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition*, p. 9, n. 2). The variants are, however, noted in KISCH's *apparatus criticus*. The traditions enshrined in *LAB*, if not the work itself, are older than the 1st century A.D.; see n. 132 to ch. I.

[20] Ed. BENSLY and M. R. JAMES, *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (Texts and Studies, Vol. III, No. 2), Cambridge 1895, p. 8.

give a midrashic interpretation of both passages immediately on citing them and, again, this midrash, *mutatis mutandis*, is the same in both writings. The PT refers the first text to Moses' ascent into heaven to fetch the Law; Paul refers it to Christ, the New Moses, who had taken the New Law from heaven. The second text is referred by the PT to Jonah's descent into the abyss. This descent of Jonah is, of course, a type of Christ's descent into the grave at death (21) and Paul refers the text to Christ's burial and to his resurrection from the dead.

These similarities can scarcely be due to pure accident. The conclusion that seems to flow from the facts of the case is that Paul knew of this paraphrase of the text of Dt and adapted it for his own purpose.

The text of the PT as Paul found it was very apt for the doctrine Paul expresses in Rm 10,6-8. It has been well noted (22) that the important text in these verses is v. 8 where Paul cites and actualizes Dt 30,14. "But what does it (i. e. Justification-through-faith) say? '*The word is near to you, on your lips and in your hearts* (Dt 30,14); that is, the word of faith which we preach". The subject matter of this 'word' and the object of faith is 'Christ is Lord' (Rom 10,9). This Christ is by his resurrection from the dead (10,9; cf. 1 Cor 12,3) and as reigning in heaven. This presupposes, then, the incarnation and the resurrection of Christ, the new Moses, who has come down from heaven and has been raised from the dead. This same Christ is ever present and is united to the believer through faith. There is no reason to expect a new incarnation or a new resurrection: these have already taken place and remain salvific realities. Paul omits all reference to the works of the Law found in the original passage of Dt but remains faithful to its fundamental meaning and to that of the immediate and mediate contexts that speak of the dwelling of God's word among men and of the accessibility of this to all.

In this we accept Fr LYONNET's understanding of the passage of Romans. It would not affect the value of the bearing of the text on the antiquity of the PT to Dt 30,12-14 if we held any of the views propounded by others (22a), as the strength of the argument rests on the similarity

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(21) E. g. Mt 12,39 f.; 14,4; Lk 11,29.

(22) Cf. S. LYONNET, *a. c.*, pp. 497 ff.

(22a) There is a wide range of opinion among exegetes on the nature and purpose of Paul's reference to Dt 30,12-14. P. PRAT says that Paul's use of Scripture in the present instance is "d'un arbitraire déconcertant" (*La théologie de Saint Paul*, Bibliothèque de théologie historique, Paris 1924, p. 21; new ed. by J. DANIÉLOU, Paris 1961, p. 25). SANDAY and HEADLAM (*A Critical and*

between Rm 10,6-8 and PT Dt 30,12-14, not on the precise meaning of Rm 10,6-8 or the manner in which it understands the Scripture text. That Paul is really thinking in the passage of Christ as the new Moses is, however, rendered very probable by a consideration of Eph 4,8 to which we now devote our attention.

6. *Eph 4,8 and Tg Ps 67(68),19* ([23]): In Eph 4,1-8 Paul shows the Christians of Asia how the unity of the Church is the gift of Christ. Reigning in heaven after his Ascension, the Risen Saviour grants those gifts that are necessary for the unity of the various members of his Church which constitutes his Body.

> (7) Grace was given to each of us according to the measure of Christ's gift. (8) Therefore is it said: *When he ascended on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men* (*ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*).
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> (9) In saying He ascended what does he mean but (*τί ἐστιν εἰ μὴ*) that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth? (10) He who descended is he who also ascended far

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Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, ICC, Edinburgh 1908, 5th ed., p. 289) remark that the "quotation is singularly inexact. An ordinary reader well acquainted with the O.T. would feel that the language had a familiar ring, but could not count it as a quotation". L. VENARD ("Citations de l'A.T. dans le N.T.", *DBS* 2 [1934] 45) reckons Rm 10,6-8 as a "cas où la citation s'écarte considérablement du sens de l'original". SANDAY-HEADLAM (*l. c.*), M. MEINERTZ (*Theologie des N.T.*, II, Bonn 1950, p. 53), L. VENARD (*a. c.*, col. 45) and P. PRAT (*o. c.*) think that Paul is using the O.T. text, which by then had become proverbial (cf. Str.-B. III in Rm 10,6-8), *oratorio modo* and bases no argument on it. This appears to be the general view of commentators according to E. E. ELLIS (*Saint Paul's Use of the O.T.*, Edinburgh 1957, p. 123). C. H. DODD (*The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, Moffat NT Commentaries, London 1932, p. 166) calls Paul's exegesis of Dt 30,12-14 purely fanciful, seeing that the OT text in point of fact speaks of justification through the works of the Law. J. KNOX (*In loc.*, *Interpreter's Bible*, vol. IX, New York 1954, p. 557) is of the same view. DODD (*l. c.*), however, does note the prophetic and spiritual character of Deuteronomy and how its spirit comes near to Christianity. Paul, he says, goes too far in not being content with this. A. NYGREN (*Der Römerbrief*, Göttingen 1951, pp. 272 f.) comes near to the position of Fr. LYONNET when he writes that Paul saw a deeper sense in Dt 30,12-14 after his conversion. He does not tell us, unfortunately, in what this deeper sense consists.

([23]) Cf. J. BONSIRVEN, *Exégèse rabbinique*... pp. 307 f.; E. E. ELLIS, *Saint Paul's Use of the O.T.* p. 144; S. LYONNET, *a. c.* pp. 504 f.; *Quaestiones*... pp. 105 f.

above all the heavens that he might fulfil all things. (11) And his gifts were that some should be apostles...

This text is similar to the one we have considered from Rm, and this in a number of ways. First, we have a text that differs slightly from the accepted biblical one (Ps 68,19; LXX 67,19) and is cited and interpreted in the light of NT salvation history. This, as we have already seen is typical midrashic exegesis. Like Rm 10,6 ff. this text is not introduced as a Scriptural citation. The introductory formula here is *διὸ λέγει ...*, 'therefore it says', the subject of the verb being left undefined. The same formula is used in Eph 5,14 to introduce what appears to be an early baptismal hymn.

There can be scarcely any doubt that Paul refers to 67(68),19, where, however, both the HT and LXX present a text slightly different from that of Paul. The LXX, which renders the HT faithfully, has *ἀνέβης εἰς ὕψος, ᾐχμαλώτευσας αἰχμαλωσίαν· ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ* [23a]. Paul, then apart from changing the tenses as required, has *ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* instead of the LXX's *ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ*. Paul here has the same reading of the verse as that we find in the Tg to the passage [24].

סלקתא לרקיע משה נביא	You ascended the firmament, Prophet Moses,
שביתא שביתא	you took captivity captive
אלפתא פתגמי אוריתא	you learned the words of the Law
יהבתא להון מתנן לבני נשא.	*you gave them as gifts to the sons of man.*

[23a] The variants to Ps 67,19 in the critical editions of the LXX do not affect the important words *ἔλαβες δόματα* (*ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ*). Only one edition (*Septuaginta Soc. Scient. Gottingensis*, auctoritate edidit A. RAHLFS, X. *Psalmi cum odis*, Göttingen 1931) notes the reading of Bo., Sa. 4a R(s), which are, however, influenced by Eph 4,8.

[24] We give the text of the London Polyglot. Early commentators do not appear to have noticed this targumic paraphrase and its bearing on the text of Eph. J. C. WOLF has a detailed discussion on the NT passage and its relation to rabbinic sources but makes no mention of Tg Ps (cf. *Curae philologicae* ... pp. 85-91). WETSTEIN, *Novum Testamentum graecum II*, Amsterdam 1752, pp. 248 f. in Eph 4,8 cites TJII Dt 32,4: ".. Dixit Moses propheta, cum ascenderet in altum Ps 68,19" but does not know of the Tg to the verse, it appears. The targumic rendering is given by Str.-B III, p. 596 to Eph. 4,8 and is now generally referred to in commentaries on the passage. J. BONSIRVEN (*Exégèse rabbinique*... p. 308) believes Paul, the preacher, has changed the text to get

Though Ps 67 (68) is probably the most difficult psalm of the entire Psalter ([25]), the text presents no great difficulty to the Targumist. He simply refers v. 19 to Moses' ascent to heaven to learn the Law and teach it to the sons of men. The midrashic rendering of this verse is in line with the Tg to the entire Psalm which speaks of the giving of the Law on Sinai. The present verse speaks of 'gifts' and this probably led the Targumist to see a reference in it to the gift *par excellence*, the Law of Moses. He has read the difficult expression *Thou didst receive gifts among men* (לקחת מתנות באדם) in consequence as referring to the distribution of gifts to men. By a simple transposition of the radicals, לקח is taken as חלק "to distribute". This is sufficient explanation of the targumic paraphrase; there is no need to postulate a Hebrew original different from that of the MT. We may compare this exegetical method with the Midrash-pesher of Qumran in which "the interpretation or exposition is incorporated into the body of the text itself, thereby determining its textual form" ([26]). *Ex. R.* 28 to Ex 19,3 cites our verse according to the MT but understands it of Moses' ascent to heaven to get the Law, just as the Tg does ([27]). The only version that has the same reading as the Tg to this verse is the Peshitta which is possibly dependent either on the Tg or Eph 4,8.

It is a reasonable inference that this understanding of Ps 68,19 which we find in the Tg was known to St Paul or to the tradition behind Eph 4,8 ([27a]). As in Rm 10,6-8 Paul applies the text to the Ascension

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the sense he wishes from it. He considers Paul's use of the OT text as "typologie forcée et poussant jusqu'à l'extrême limite la loi du genre".

([25]) "Testo criticamente mal conservato, apparente incoerenza nel seguito dei pensieri, stilo vago e allusivo pur rilevante grandiosità di concezione, sono i caratteri che distinguono il salmo presente e ne fanno il più difficile di tutto il Salterio.", G. CASTELLINO, *Libro dei Salmi* (La Sacra Bibbia, Garofalo), Turin 1955, p. 481.

([26]) E. E. ELLIS, *o. c.* p. 141.

([27]) Str.-B. III, p. 596 summarizes the evidence of rabbinic literature on Ps 68,19 as follows: "Die altrabbinische Literatur hat Ps 68,19 durchgängig auf Mose gedeutet, wie er zur Höhe emporstieg, um die Tora in Empfang zu nehmen. Unter den betreffenden Stellen findet sich eine [i. e. Tg 68,19], die die Worte: "du hast Gaben empfangen" genau so wie der Apostel deutet = "du hast Gaben gegeben"; zwei andre Stellen [i. e. ARN 2(2a) and Midr Ps 68 § 11 [160a)] erklären die Worte: "du hast Gaben unter den Menschen empfangen" = "du hast Gaben für die Menschen empfangen", nämlich um sie den Menschen zu geben, sie kommen also dem Sinne nach ebenfalls auf die Umdeutung beim Apostel hinaus".

([27a]) W. BACHER (*JE* 12 [1907] 62) dates our present Tg Pss to the 4th-5th centuries, but before the Fall of Rome in 476 A. D. since Rome and Constantinople

of Christ, the new Moses, who, at his Ascension, bestowed on his Church all those gifts that are necessary for the life of the New Israel. The text is a very close parallel to Rm 10,6-8 both in its literary form and its doctrinal content. Both actualize the OT texts in like manner, applying what the Tgs say of the types to the NT Prototype. The parallelism is closer still if we take the 'descent into the lower parts of the earth' to refer, not to the Incarnation, nor to Christ's descent into Hell, but to Christ's descent into the earth at death ([28]).

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are supposed as the two capitals of the Empire in Tg Ps 108,12. This argument is, however, rejected by G. DALMAN, *Grammatik*[2], p. 34, n. 2 who refers to an article of BAETHGEN in *JfPT* 8 (1882) 447; 455 ff. S. BIALOBLOCKI (*EJ* vol. 4, n. d., but c. 1931, col. 579) believes that the language of the Tg points to a later date than this. The date of the final redaction does not affect the age of the traditions it contains, of course. In any case it is probable that Tg Pss is in part a very old, and possibly pre-Christian, rendering. A. ROBERTS (*The Old Testament Text and Versions*, Cardiff 1951, p. 209) has noted that some verses have conflate readings and says that there are reasons for concluding that an original Tg to Pss was later corrected and brought into line with the MT. In Ps 97,11, e. g., he finds a conflate text, one reading agreeing with the LXX and Peshitta, the other with MT. Our verse, then, may represent a genuine pre-Christian Tg to Ps 68,19.

([28]) The general view of commentators is that 'the descent' of Eph 4,9 refers either to the Incarnation or to Christ's descent into Hell (cf. BÜCHSEL, "*katoteros*" in *TWNT*, 3 [1938], p. 641). BÜCHSEL, *a. c.* pp. 641 f. has given strong reasons that show 'the descent into the lower parts of the earth' (Eph 4,9) really refers to the descent into the grave at death. The strength of his arguments is accepted by J. C. SCHNEIDER (*TWNT* '*meros*' 4 [1942], p. 602, n. 21) who explicitly abandons his earlier view, expressed in the same work ('*katabainô*' in *TWNT* 1 [1933], p. 520) where he took it to refer to the Incarnation. S. LYONNET, *a. c.* p. 505; *Quaestiones*... p. 106, accepts the interpretation of BÜCHSEL as that "quae multo probabilior esse ... videtur". The reasons that weigh in favour of this view are the strict parallelism of 4,19 with 1,20 and the insistance of this Epistle on the Death of Christ (1,20; 2,16, 5,2.25) which is connected with his Resurrection (1,20-23; 2,5) and not with his Incarnation or Descent into Hell. 2,5 f. notes how God has raised us from the dead with Christ and made us sit with him in the heavenly places. The hymn of 5,14 — unnoticed by BÜCHSEL — also favours this view. It says to Christians: "Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light". This is probably an early baptismal hymn and is introduced by *διὸ λέγει*, the same phrase that introduced 4,8. It is quite possible that 4,8 is also portion of an early hymn rather than a direct citation from, or reference to, Ps 68(67),19. Both 4,8 and 5,14 may well have formed part of the same hymn.

II. Jannes and Jambres: 2 Tm 3,8 f. and TJI Ex 7,11; 1,15 ([29])

We have seen in the preceding article how in Rm 10,6-8 Paul appears to be dependent on a PT paraphrase that referred Dt 30,10-12 to Moses. This PT paraphrase is not found in TJI whose paraphrase of a number of texts differs from that of TJII and N. TJI Dt 30,12-14 may still be a true representative of the PT as known in NT times. The text of the PT was never fixed and variant paraphrases may be equally old. We now come to consider a text of TJI, not found in any other PT text, which appears to be an old and pre-Christian one as the tradition it

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([29]) Bibliography: On the occurrence of the names in Jewish writings cf. J. BUXTORF, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*, Basle 1639, pp. 945 f.; ed. B. FISCHER, Leipzig 1875, pp. 481-83; J. LEVY, *WT*, Leipzig 1881, *s. v.* יניס, pp. 337 f.; *WTM*, Berlin 1924, *s. v.* יוחני, p. 226; A. KOHUT, *Aruch completum*, ed. Vindobona 1926, vol. IV, pp. 116 f. M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim... s. vv.* יוחני, ינים, ימריס.

The earlier texts referring to Jannes and Jambres are given in E. SCHÜRER, *GJV*[4], iii (1909), pp. 403-05; English translation of 2nd ed. *HJP*, by P. CHRISTIE, II, iii, pp. 149-51; the most complete list of the texts on Jannes and Jambres is that of R. BLOCH in "Quelques aspects de la figure de Moïse dans la littérature rabbinique" in *Moïse l'homme de l'alliance* n. 21, pp. 105 f. = *CS* 8 (1954) 223 f. They are also to be found in L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*; see vol. 7, Philadelphia 1935, Index *s. v.* Jannes and Jambres; and in H. St. J. THACKERAY, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London 1900, pp. 215-22. See also Str.-B. III, pp. 660-64 to 2 Tm 3,8; C. SCHOETTGEN, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae in universum Novum Testamentum*, Dresden 1848, to 2 Tm 3,8; J. WETSTEIN, *Novum Testamentum*, in 2 Tm 3,8, vol. II, Amsterdam 1753, p. 362.

See also the general articles on Jannes and Jambres in *DB* (Smith and Fuller) 2 (1893), 1524; (C. HOLE); *HDB* 2 (1899), 548 f. (J. T. MARSHALL); Hauck's *Realenzyclopädie für protestantische Theologie* 8 (1900), 587 f. (v. ORELLI); Cheyne and Black's *EB* 2 (1901), 3227-29 (I. ABRAHAMS); *DB* 3 (1903), 1119-21 (VIGOUROUX); *JE* 7 (1907). 71 (K. KOHLER); *EJ* 8 (1931), 873-75 (J. GUTMANN); *UJE* 6 (1942), 37 f.; "Jannes and Jambres, Book of" *HDB* 2 (1899), 549; (J. T. MARSHALL); "Jannes" *PaulyW* 9 (1916), 693-95; (GANSCHINIETZ); "Jambres" *ibid.* col. 681 (GANSCHINIETZ); L. E. ISELIN, "Zwei Bemerkungen zu Schürer's 'Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi'. I. Jannes und Jambres (vgl. Schürer II, 689-691" *Zeit. f. wiss. Theologie* 37 (1894) 321-26; ODEBERG *"Iannês, Iambrês" TWNT* 3 (1938), pp. 192 f.; OEPKE, *"krypto" TWNT* 3 (1938), pp. 990 f.; C. SPICQ O. P., *Les épitres pastorales* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1947, to 2 Tm 3,8, pp. 370-72; REINACH, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris 1895, p. 174. See also the earlier works, ZETNGRAV, *Dissertatio de Janne et Jambre*, Strasbourg 1669, and the monographs bearing the same Latin title by G. GROT, Copenhagen 1707; J. G. MICHAELIS, Halle 1747.

contains is that precisely found in 2 Tm 3,8 f. This paraphrase of TJI (to Ex 7,11) is, in fact, the only exact parallel we have to this NT text. To bring out the importance of this PT text we shall first of all consider the text and exegesis of 2 Tm 3,8. We shall then see how this is exactly paralleled by TJI Ex 7,11. We will go on from there to show how no other Jewish text contains such a precise parallel to 2 Tm and shall conclude by showing that the text of TJI Ex 7,11 is no interpolation but is, on the contrary, an old pre-Christian portion of the PT, whose tradition, if not the very text of the PT as found in TJI, was known to Paul and used by him in 2 Tm 3,8 f.

1. *Text and exegesis of 2 Tm 3,8 f*: Writing to Timothy, his disciple and bishop of Ephesus, St Paul reminds him that masters of evil life and false teaching are to arise in the "last days" (2 Tm 3,1-9). These are men "holding the form of religion but denying the power of it" (3,5). Their efforts shall be in vain. In 3,8 f. we read:

> As Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses (*Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς ἀντέστησαν Μωϋσει*) [29a] so shall these people also oppose the truth, men of corrupt mind and counterfeit faith, (9) but they shall not get very far, for their folly will be plain to all as was that of these (two men).

No mention is made of Jannes or Jambres in the OT. Paul is evidently dependent on some extra biblical tradition. We can gather from 2 Tm 3,8. that this tradition mentioned a pair by the names of Jannes and Jambres who resisted Moses on some occasion or other and were publicly discomfited in their opposition. *Ἀντέστησαν*, the aorist, implies that the opposition he has in mind refers to a particular action, not to a continuous state.

The tradition used by Paul most probably refers to Moses' activity in Egypt or during the desert wanderings. When we come to determine the biblical text with which it is connected we naturally turn to Ex 7,10-12.

[29a] The two 9th cent. codices G (also sigled G_3 and GP) and F (also sigled F_2 and FP) read *Μαμβρης* instead of *Ιαμβρης*. The reading of these two sister codices cannot be taken as the original one. It runs counter to the entire tradition of the Greek text and its origin can easily be explained. The codices in question were copied in the West by Western scribes. And in the tradition of the Latin Church Jannes' brother is called *M*ambres, not *J*ambres. This Latin form of the name is very probably dependent on the Palestinian, in which the form is Mamre. On the codices G and P and the family to which they belong, cf. B. M. METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament*, Oxford 1964, pp. 51 f.

The context narrates how Yahweh commanded Moses that he and Aaron go to Pharaoh and tell him to let Israel go free from Egypt (7,1 ff.). When Pharaoh asks for a miracle Moses is to tell Aaron to cast down his rod and it will become a serpent (7,8-10). The biblical text continues:

> So Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and did as the Lord commanded; Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh and his servants, and it became a serpent. (11) Then Pharaoh summoned the wise men and the sorcerers; and they also, the magicians of Egypt, did the same by their secret arts. (12) For every man cast down his rod, and they became serpents. But Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.

If we identify the magicians of Egypt with Jannes and Jambres we have all the elements of the tradition mentioned in 2 Tm 3,8 f. The pair resisted Moses on a particular occasion and their folly, i. e. the futility of their opposition, was made clear to all the bystanders when Aaron's staff swallowed up those of the magicians. If no mention is made of Aaron in 2 Tm this is because in Ex ch. 7 the test is really against Moses. Aaron plays a secondary role.

2. *Jannes and Jambres in TJI Ex 7,11 f.*: Now, TJI paraphrases Ex 7,11 f. in precisely the same manner as 2 Tm. In fact, the only passage in all Jewish literature that offers a true parallel to 2 Tm 3,8 f. is TJI Ex 7,11 f. *Only in TJI Ex 7,11 f. do we find the forms of the names as given in 2 Tm together with the tradition to which this NT text refers.* To make this point clear we shall first examine the paraphrase of TJI and then compare it with what we learn of the two magicians in pre-Christian and later Jewish tradition.

We possess the PT rendering of Ex 7,11 f. in TJI and N. N gives a literal rendering and is of no importance for our purpose. We here render TJI ([30]) to Ex 7,11 f. and show its additional paraphrases in italics.

([30]) The Aramaic text, with Latin version, can be seen in WALTON, *Biblia Polyglotta*, vol. IV, London 1657, p. 133. The Aramaic text of the London MS may be seen in M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiël zum Pentateuch)*, Berlin 1903, p. 108. The texts are identical. An English rendering may be seen in J. W. ETHERIDGE, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch*, London 1862, p. 461. We have checked the Aramaic text printed here against the London MS, ff. 64b-65a.

וקרא לחוד פרעה	And Pharaoh also called the
לחכימיא ולחרשייא	wise men and sorcerers, and
ועבדו לחור הינון יניד ויטבריס	they also, *Jannes and Jambres,*
חרשין דבמצרים	the sorcerers who were in
בלחשי קוסמיהון היכדין.	Egypt, did likewise with their magic charms.
ושלקון אינש חוטריה	12 And every man threw down his
והוון לחרמנין	staff and they became basilisks,
ומן יד אתהפיכו	*and immediately they were*
למהוי כמן שירויא	*changed to become as they were*
ובלע חוטרא	*at first* and the staff of
דאהרן ית	Aaron swallowed up their
חוטריהון.	staffs.

Here we have a perfect parallel to 2 Tm 3,8 f. The form of the names is identical in both writings. TJI brings out the futility of the magic of Jannes and Jambres by noting that their staffs were immediately changed back to their original form after they had attempted to oppose the representative of the True God. Their folly was thus apparent to all.

This text of TJI is all the more important in that only here in all Jewish literature do we find these magicians bear the names Jannes and Jambres, the form used by Paul. And this despite the fact that mention of such a pair of magicians, or of one of them, is known in Jewish tradition from pre-Christian down to present-day times. The close relation of TJI Ex 7,11 f. to 2 Tm 3,8 f. becomes still clearer when we see that only in TJI do we find stress laid on the powerlessness of these magicians when they worked their magic arts before Moses and Pharaoh on the occasion of Moses' visit recounted in Ex ch. 7. To make this point clear we shall now take the texts where mention of this pair, or the former of them, is made.

3. *Johana and his brother in the Damascus Document (1st cent. B.C.)* ([31]): In the exhortation with which the Damascus Document commences (coll

([31]) This fragment of the Damascus Document was found in the Cairo Geniza and was published by S. SCHECHTER in "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" (*Documents of Jewish Sectaries* Vol. I, Cambridge 1910; for our text see pp. 5,17 f.) MSS of DD were also found among the DSS and published by M. BAILLET, "Frag-

I-XIV) the author recounts how, while the majority in Israel went astray, a remnant always remained faithful. The faithful are rewarded while the wicked are punished.

> For (already) in ancient times God visited their deeds and his anger was kindled against their works; *for it is a people of no discernment* (Is 27,11), *it is a nation devoid of counsel inasmuch as there is no discernment in them* (Dt 32,28).
>
> For in ancient times, Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the Prince of Lights and Satan in his cunning raised up *Johana and his brother* (יחנא ואת אחיהו) when Israel was saved for the first time. (DD, 5,17-19).

The idea in DD 5,17-19 seems to be that at the Exodus God permitted Johana and his brother to arise against Israel in punishment of the sins of his people. "Johana and his brother" are, of course, the pair Jannes and Jambres we find in 2 Tm and TJI. This shows that the tradition we have in these texts is an old Jewish one. It is clear that 2 Tm and TJI are in a different tradition from that preserved in DD. The Damascus Document leaves the brother of Johana unnamed while in 2 Tm an TJI he is called Jambres. Then again, the form of the name — Johana ([32]) — which we find in DD differs from that of 2 Tm and TJI. We may regard Jannes as the Grecized of the Semitic Johana. We do not know to what opposition on the part of Johana and his brother DD refers. It may be a general one and would then be in the spirit of the Book of Jubilees in which Israel's release from Egypt is opposed by Mastema who acts as the accuser of the chosen people before God ([33]).

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ments du Document de Damas", *RB* 63 (1956) 513-23 = *DJD* 3 (1962), p. 132. The fragment bearing the names of "Johana and his brother" is mutilated in this section and is supplied from the Geniza fragment by the editor. J. T. MILIK (*Ten Years*... p. 58) dates the earliest Qumran MS of DD (i. e. 4 QD^b) between 75-50 B.C. After the Qumran finds C. RABIN republished the Cairo fragments in *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford 1954; 2nd rev. ed., Oxford 1958. Our text is found on pp. 20 f. of both editions.

([32]) It is unfortunate that יחנא of this text of DD is rendered "Jannes" in *DJD* 3 (1962) 130 and by G. VERMES in *Les Manuscrits du desert de Juda*, 2nd ed., Paris 1954, p. 165; *The DSS in English*, p. 102. R. H. CHARLES is more faithful to the original, rendering as "Jochanneh" in *CAP*, II, p. 811. So is M. BAILLET in the preliminary publication in *RB a. c.* p. 517, where he renders as "Yōḥanē". "Johana" which we adopt seems a better vocalization; it is that followed for the cognate יוחנא by JASTROW (*Dictionary of the Talmud Babli*..., *s. v.*, p. 568), and authors in general.

([33]) Cf., e. g. Jub. 48,2.9; CHARLES, *Apoc. and Pseud.* II, pp. 78 f.

The text of DD 5,17-19 shows that in it we are in the presence of a pre-Christian tradition which differs from that which we find in 2 Tm 3,8 f. and TJI Ex 7,11 f.

4. PLINY THE ELDER, *Nat. Hist. 30,1,11 (1st cent. A.D.)*: The magician Jannes, mentioned in the text of DD, must have been well known during the 1st cent. A. D. as PLINY the Elder considers him as one of the founders of Jewish magic. In *Nat. Hist.* 30,1,11 he writes [34]:

> Est et alia magices factio a Mose et Ianne [35] et Iotape [36] ac Iudaeis pendens, sed multis millibus annis post Zoroastren.

This text shows the same form of the name, i. e. Jannes, that we find in 2 Tm and TJI. No mention, however, is made of Jambres, the unnamed brother of Jannes in DD. Apart from showing that the Grecized form of the name was current, the text is no parallel to 2 Tm.

5. APULEIUS, *Apologia ch. 90 (2nd cent. A.D.)*: The same is true of the following text of APULEIUS in his work *De Apologia* (or *De Magia*) ch. 90 [37]:

> Ego ille sim Carmendas vel Domigeron vel hic Moses vel Iohannes vel Apollobex vel ipse Dardanus vel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.

This text shows that the variant form of the name Johannes [38] — corresponding to Johana of DD — was also current outside Palestine.

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[34] Ed. A. ERNOUT, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire naturelle, livre XXX*, ed. "Les Belles Lettres", Paris 1963, p. 27.

[35] *V. l.* Iamne.

[36] *V. l.* Lotape.

[37] Ed. R. HELM in *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Grecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1905, p. 100; and ed. P. VALETTE in " Les Belles Lettres", Paris 1924, p. 107. Other editions have variant forms of the names; cf. E. SCHÜRER, *GJV*[4], III, 1909, p. 403. For a study of this work of APULEIUS see A. ABT, "Die Apologie von des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei. Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift de Magia", in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Band IV, Heft 2 (1908) 1-271 (75-345). On J(oh)annes see p. 249 (323).

[38] Some editors (cf. ed. "Les Belles Lettres", p. 106) correct Johannes to Jannes, the form of the name in PLINY. GANSCHINIETZ (*PaulyW*, vol. 9, *s. v.* "Jannes", col. 694) has shown that this emendation is not necessary since the confusion of the two forms of the name is early attested. Johannes corresponds to יוחנא of DD while Jannes is that of TJI.

Otherwise the tradition preserved by APULEIUS offers no greater parallel to 2 Tm than that of PLINY.

6. *A text of* NUMENIUS (*2nd cent. A. D.*): The next text on Jannes and Jambres which we are to consider is one from the neo-Pythagorian philosopher NUMENIUS cited by EUSEBIUS in *Preparatio Evangelica* 9,8,1. This text speaks of the magicians Jannes and Jambres (*Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς*) who undid the calamities which Moses brought on Egypt. The form of the names is the same as that in 2 Tm. The tradition as preserved in NUMENIUS is not a true parallel to 2 Tm as it insists on Jannes and Jambres undoing the works of Moses whereas Paul stresses the impotence of those magicians: it is quite possible that EUSEBIUS has inserted the then current form of the magicians' names, i. e. Jannes and Jambres, into the text of NUMENIUS. Even if we take it that he has faithfully reproduced the text of NUMENIUS it can still be doubted that this ecclectic philosopher is preserving a true pre-Christian tradition. His text has certain similarities with one from JOSEPHUS which we are to consider presently [39]. It may be that the neo-Pythagorian philosopher is here dependent on the Jewish historian. It is also possible that he is drawing on Christian sources as he certainly does in his philosophical system. The text of NUMENIUS runs as follows [40]:

> Then he (i. e. NUMENIUS) said: 'When the Jews were cast out of Egypt there flourished certain Egyptian scribes, Jannes and Jambres, second to none in the judgement of magical matters. Both were selected by the common consent of the Egyptians to oppose Moses, whose prayers before God were most powerful. And these were able to undo and render void in the sight of all, the grave calamities that Moses brought upon Egypt'.

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[39] P. 95 below. In both texts they are presented as anonymous Egyptian sacred scribes.

[40] Ed. K. MRAS, *Eusebius Werke*, in GCS, Berlin 1954, part I, p. 494; PG 21,696. In *Contra Celsum* IV, 51 (Ed. P. KOETSCHAU, *Origenes Werke*, vol. I in GCS, Leipzig 1899, p. 324; PG 11,1112 f.) ORIGEN recalls that NUMENIUS mentions Jannes and Jambres. J. FREUDENTHAL (*Alexander Polyhistor*, Breslau 1875, p. 173) believes that NUMENIUS has borrowed his tradition on Jannes and Jambres from ARTAPANUS (2nd cent. B.C.) with whom the legend of Jannes and Jambres would have originated. This view does not seem to have been proved; cf. E. SCHÜRER, *GJV*, III[4] (1909) 404.

7. *The Apocryphal work on Jannes and Jambres*: In ORIGEN's day (3rd cent. A. D.) it was accepted that 2 Tm 3,8 f. was dependent on an Apocryphal work on Jannes and Jambres. In his commentary on Mt 23,37 ORIGEN writes (41):

> ... item quod ait: "Sicut Iamnes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi..." (2 Tm 3,8) non invenitur in publicis libris, sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur liber Iamnes et Mambres. Unde ausi sunt quidam epistolam ad Timotheum repellere quasi habentem in se textum alicuius secreti, sed non potuerunt.

We possess only the Latin version of this work of ORIGEN's and this accounts for the Western form of the names Iamnes et Mambres. The original Greek most probably carried the forms *Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς*. Among the apocryphal works rejected by the Church the Gelasian decree includes "Liber qui appellatur *Paenitentia Iamme et Mambre*" (42). This was probably the same work as that mentioned by ORIGEN. It must have contained some narrative of the magicians' opposition to Moses, seeing that the Christians of ORIGEN's day believed 2 Tm had borrowed from it. Apart from this we can say nothing as regards its contents. We do not even know the exact name it bore as that given by the Gelasian decree (*Paenitentia Jamme et Mambre*) differs from that by which it was known to ORIGEN (*Liber Iamnes et Mambres* [or "Iambres"?])

J. BIDEZ and F. CUMONT (43) think that this work dates back to Hellenistic times. Such may in fact have been the case. The texts at our disposal scarcely warrant this conclusion, however. Even if it were proved that the work existed in NT times we would still remain ignorant of the exact form of the legend it contained. It would likewise be impossible to say what form the names of the pair of magicians had. It could have been that of DD: "Johana and his brother", or "Jamme and Mambre" as we find in the Latin version, or some other variant as well as that which we find in Paul. Because of the uncertainties connected with

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(41) Ed. E. KLOSTERMANN in *Origenes Werke*, vol. II (GCS), Leipzig 1933, p. 250; PG 13,1769. In his commentary on Mt 23,37 ORIGEN writes: "Nec enim scimus in libris canonizatis historiam de Janne et Mambre resistentibus Moysi".

(42) Ed. Von DOBSCHÜTZ in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 3rd series, 8,4 (1912), p. 12; PL 59,163.

(43) *Les mages hellenisés. Zoroastre, Ostanes et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*, vol. II, Les Textes, Paris 1938, p. 22, Nr. 14.

this apocryphal work, then, we cannot say that it was from it that Paul drew the tradition we find in 2 Tm.

The AMBROSIASTER, like ORIGEN, believes Paul is dependent on the apocryphal work: "Exemplum hoc de apocryphis est" (PL 17,521). THEODORETUS (44) prefers to see dependence on Jewish tradition: *ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας*. ST THOMAS (45) is of the same view: "In Exodo isti magi non nominantur, sed hic sic, quod forte habuit (i. e. St. Paul) ex aliquibus verbis Iudaeorum". This is the more probable view seeing that traditions on Jannes, if not on Jannes and Jambres, must have been well known in Judaism of the NT period.

8. *Jannes and Jambres etc. in rabbinical writings* (46): Seeing that the tradition on Jannes and his companion has such old roots in Judaism one would expect to find references to them in early rabbinical sources. This, however, is far from being the case. Apart from a casual reference in the Talmud (*Men* 85a) we have to await the younger midrashim, from the 9th century onwards, before we find mention of these two magicians or of their magic arts. Even then, they never bear the names Jannes and Jambres which we have seen in 2 Tm and TJI and no great stress is laid on their activity during the visit of Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh narrated in Ex 7,11 f. with which we have seen the tradition found in 2 Tm 3,8 f., is principally, if not solely, connected.

We shall first of all consider the form of the names of these magicians in Jewish sources outside those already studied. In *Men* 85a it is יוחנא וממרא; (47) in the text of *Men* 85a reproduced in *Ex. R.* 9 to Ex 7,12 we find it as יוחני וממרא. Other forms of the names in these later sources are (48): יונוס ויומברוס (49), ינוס וימבריוס (50), ינים וממרים (51),

(44) In 2 Tm 3,8; PG 82,847.

(45) *Super Epistolas S. Pauli Lectura*, in Tm 3,8 Nr. 108; ed. R. CAI O.P., Turin (Marietti) 1953, vol. II, p. 288.

(46) A summary of these sources may be seen in Str.-B. III, pp. 660-64. The tradition takes two forms. According to some texts the brothers become proselytes and accompany Israel during the desert wanderings. According to another version they were destroyed with the Egyptians in the Red Sea when they attempted to wage war on the Angel of Israel.

(47) ממרא is universally vocalized "Mamre", in accord with the MT vocalization of the homonymous place name, Gn 13,18 etc.

(48) For the forms of the names cf. ODEBERG, *a. c. TWNT*, 3 (1938), p. 193.

(49) Tanḥuma, *Ki Tissa*, 19, to Ex 32,1; Str.-B. III, p. 663.

(50) Yalquṭ Shimeoni to Ex 5,1, I, § 176 (57 d); Str.-B. *ibid.* p. 662 n *f.*

(51) Chronicle of Moses (Beth ha-Midrash 2,5,22); Str.-B. *ibid.* n. *e.*

ממרא ויוחני[52], i. e. Jonos and Jombros[49], Janos and Jambrinos[50], Jannes and Mamres[51], Mamre and Johani[52].

Those are all variants of the same names, of course, just as Jannes is the Greek form of the Semitic Johana. As we have seen, nowhere outside TJI do we find the form of the names which Paul uses in 2 Tm 3,8. Even if they were to be found in the writings we have just mentioned all these are from some nine centuries later than St. Paul's day, though the traditions they contain have much older roots as is always the case in Judaism.

The traditions we find in Tanhuma (9th cent.)[53], *Ex. R.* (11th-12th cent.)[54], Yalquṭ Shimeoni (13th cent.)[55] and in the other later midrashic writings have various episodes to narrate from the lives of Jannes and Jambres. The pair are at times called the sons of Balaam and give evil counsel against Israel at the court of Pharaoh. We are interested here only in their activity on the occasion referred to in Ex 7,11 f. Relatively little is said on this episode in these midrashim. *Ex. R.* 9 narrates how Pharaoh mocked Moses when he performed the miracles recounted in Ex 7,10 before him, saying that it was senseless to come and work magic in Egypt, the home of magic. "Would anyone", he says, "take brine to Spain or fish to Acco?" The text continues to narrate how the little children of Egypt and, even Pharaoh's wife, work the same miracle as Moses. Then it says that "Johani and Mamre (יוחני וממרא), the sorcerers of Egypt, said to Moses: 'Would you carry straw to Hafaraim?'" This expression was doubtless a proverbial one to describe wasted efforts and is in the spirit of the words of Pharaoh found a little earlier in the text of *Ex. R.* The same proverbial words of Johana and Mamre (יוחנא וממרא) are also found in Men 85a, from which they are clearly interpolated into the text of *Ex. R.* The context of *Ex. R.* has nothing further to say on Johani and Mamre and so we may pass on to the other texts.

Yalquṭ Reubeni 106d[56] to Ex 32,11 says Jonos and Jombros became proselytes when they saw the miracles worked by Moses (Ex 7,11).

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[52] Yalquṭ Reubeni (Ed. Amsterdam 1700), 148 a; Str.-B. *ibid.* p. 661 n. *a.*

[53] Cf. L. Zunz, *GV*², p. 247.

[54] Cf. Zunz, *o. c.* p. 269; H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Eng. trans. in Meridian Books, New York 1959, p. 215.

[55] H. L. Strack, *o. c.*, p. 230.

[56] This work was compiled by R. ben Hoschke (died 1673). "This Yalkut, ... a collection of kabbalistic commentaries on the Pentateuch, is without scientific value", Strack, *o. c.* p. 231. The text we refer to can be seen in Str.-B. III, p. 660, n. *h.*

They then journeyed with Israel from Egypt and in Tanḥuma *Ki Tissa* 115b ([57]) to Ex 32,1 we read that Jonos and Jombros (יונוס ויומברוס), the magicians of Pharaoh, (citing Ex 7,11) were among the mixed multitude who solicited Aaron to make the golden calf. As usual, the brothers are shown as acting in the worst interests of Israel. Little, or nothing, is said of their activity on the occasion of the miracle of Aaron's staff, however, in this text of Tanḥuma nor in the other many texts on the two magicians collected by STRACK-BILLERBECK.

The conclusion this study of Jannes and Jambres in rabbinic sources leads us to is that nowhere in them do these magicians bear the form of the names which is used in 2 Tm 3,8 and that, though it is sometimes mentioned, their activity on the occasion of Moses' and Aaron's visit to Pharaon is nowhere stressed. It follows that, even if we were to admit that these late traditions existed substantially as they now stand in NT times, St Paul was not drawing on them for the form of tradition as we find it in 2 Tm 3,8 f.

We trust that this comparison of the tradition of 2 Tm 3,8 f. with TJI Ex 7,11 f. on the one hand, and with other possible Jewish sources on the other, has made clear how closely the tradition of TJI is related to that found in 2 Tm. The relation from the point of view of the names and the tradition is so close, in fact, that one is naturally led to believe that in 2 Tm 3,8 f. Paul is dependent on the Jewish liturgy of his day and that TJI Ex 7,11 f. has retained this liturgical paraphrase of NT times. It is certainly strange that only in TJI are the names of the two magicians identical with that used by Paul. Greek Christian tradition has the same form of the names as that of Paul and may be dependent on 2 Tm 3,8 in this. Latin Christian tradition follows a variant form in reading Mambres where 2 Tm has Jambres. We have seen ([58]) how this is the oldest form of the name attested in rabbinic writings, i. e. *Men* 85a.

The liturgy would be a most natural source for Paul on which to draw from Jewish tradition. The difficulty presented here is that TJI is considered to be a late work, and could hardly have been available to Paul. This view is now being gradually abandoned as there are strong indications that the midrashim of TJI are in many cases very old and even pre-Christian. We shall meet other instances of such paraphrases in the course

([57]) Cf. Str.-B., *ibid.*
([58]) *Supra*, p. 90.

of this dissertation. Paul himself appears to be dependent on the midrash of TJI in his allegory on the veil of Moses (2 Cor 3,17 - 4,4) (59). TJI also has at times closer relations with the Gospel texts than any of the other PT representatives such as TJII or N while the Apoc has many relations with the PT text of TJI in passages where TJI differs from TJII and N. (60).

All this indicates that TJI Ex 7,11 f. preserves an old pre-Christian paraphrase known to Paul. It may be objected that this passage is an interpolation into the PT text in TJI. TJI has certain such interpolations; clear examples are the reference to the wife and daughter of Mahommed (Gn 21,21); mention of Constantinople (Nm 24,24) and to the six orders of the Mishnah (Ex 26,9). This does not appear to be the case in the present instance. The very form of the names — Jannes and Jambres — indicates that the passage is not dependent on later Judaism. That TJI Ex 7,11 f. is no interpolation seems clear from another text where Jannes and Jambres are again mentioned in TJI, which text preserves a very old midrash found in JOSEPHUS and other writers. We will now treat of this text.

9. *Jannes and Jambres predict the birth of Moses* (Ex 1,15): Ex 1,15 f. in the biblical text tells how Pharaoh commanded the Hebrew midwives to kill every Hebrew male child at birth but to leave the females unharmed. TJI Ex 1,15 gives a reason for this command of Pharaoh, by introducing a midrash to show that it was inspired by the malice which the two magicians, Jannes and Jambres, bore towards the people of God. The following text of TJI is, then, in the same tradition as the one we have just considered. It runs as follows (61):

ואמר פרעה דמך	And Pharaoh said that while asleep
הוה חמי בחלמיה והא כל	he saw in his dream and lo!, the entire
ארעא דמצרים קיימא בכף מודנא חדא	land of Egypt was placed on one scale of a balance

(59) Cf. *infra* pp. 177-87.

(60) Cf. *infra*. pp. 109-112; 196-99; 235-37.

(61) London MS f. 59 a. The Aramaic texts, Latin and English versions are to be seen in the sources cited in n. 30 a above.

וטליא (62) בר איטרתא בכף חדא	and a lamb, the young of a ewe, on the other scale;
והוה כרעא כף מודנא דטליא בגוה	and the scale of the balance with the lamb outweighed the other.
מן יד שדר וקרא כל חרשי מצרים	Immediately he sent and called all the sorcerers of Egypt
ותני להון ית חולמיה	and narrated his dream to them.
מן יד פתחון פומהון ינים וימברם	Immediately *Jannes and Jambres*
רישי חרשיא ואמרין לפרעה	the head magicians opened their mouths and said to Pharaoh:
ביר חד עתיד למהוי מתיליד	'A son is about to be born
בכנישתהון דישראל	in the congregation of Israel
דעל ידוי עתידא למחרבא כל ארעא דמצרים.	through whom the entire land of Egypt is to be destroyed'.

The antiquity of this tradition is vouched for by JOSEPHUS (JA II, ix, 2, § 205).

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(62) The usual meaning of the Aramaic word טליא is "boy", "servant" (cp. Mk 5,41). The dictionaries of LEVY (*WT*, *s. v.*) and JASTROW (*s. v.*) give but three examples of the word in the sense of "lamb": here (where we have a play on the twofold meaning of the term), in TJI Gn 30,40 and in Tg Ps 118,27. I have failed to find the term in this sense in N. טליא, however, in the sense of "lamb" appears to be a genuine Aramaic word and not merely a transcription of the Heb. טלה bearing the sense of "lamb". It would otherwise be hard to explain its use in TJI Gn 30,40 as the equivalent of כבשים of the HT, a word rendered by O and N by אמריא, which is, in fact, the usual term employed in the Tgs to translate the various Heb. words meaning "lamb".

BURNEY, followed by J. JEREMIAS (*TWNT*, 5 [1954], 700; = *The Servant of the Lord*, London 1957, pp. 82 f; and *TWNT* 1 [1932] 185,343) surmises that beneath *ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ Θεοῦ* of Jn 1,29 lies the Aramaic טליא די אלהא, which can either mean "Lamb of God", or "Servant of God". The Baptist would have intended the ambiguity but the Greek translator deprived his words of part of their sense by rendering as "Lamb of God". As G. VERMES observes (*Scripture and Tradition*, n. 5, pp. 93 f.) TJI Ex 1,15 eliminates the "factual difficulty" by showing that טליא is used in the sense of "lamb". The view that such Aramaic words underlie Jn 1,29 is not without difficulties. Though טליא in the sense of "lamb" appears to be a genuine Aramaic word it must have been of very rare usage. It is not attested outside the texts referred to and never bears the sense of "lamb" in Palestinian Christian Aramaic, where it does occur in the meaning of "boy, servant". It is improbable, then, that a Greek translator should take it in its unusual sense of "lamb" instead of its more usual one of "servant".

For literature on the theory of BURNEY-JEREMIAS see R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, n. 69, pp. 158 f. See also below p. 167.

> While they (i. e. the Israelites) were in this plight, a further incident had the effect of stimulating the Egyptians to exterminate our race. One of the sacred scribes (*τῶν Ἱερογραμματέων τις*) — persons with considerable skill in accurately predicting the future — announced to the king that there would be born to the Israelites at that time one who would abase the sovereignty of the Egyptians and exalt the Israelites, were he reared to manhood, and would surpass all men in virtue and win everlasting renown.

The traditions in TJI and JOSEPHUS are substantially the same. The sole difference of importance is that JOSEPHUS speaks of one sacred scribe where TJI mentions Jannes and Jambres. The names of this pair are not mentioned anywhere by JOSEPHUS, although one may presume that traditions about them were known to him. Actually this tradition on Pharaoh's dream is found in a number of Jewish texts. R. BLOCH has taken this particular legend in her now classical essay on the methodology to be adopted in dating rabbinical material (63). In the course of this study she examines the legend on the birth of Moses in TJI and in the later midrashim *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Yalqut Shime'oni*, the *Chronicle of Moses* and in the unpublished work *Sefer ha-Zikronot*. She concludes as follows (64):

> Toute la littérature rabbinique connait cette tradition. Mais il suffit de comparer le récit de TgJ [i. e. TJI] avec ceux des midrashim et des chroniques pour se rendre compte qu'il est le plus simple, le plus primitif entre tous, qu'il doit constituer le texte de base, et que c'est par rapport à lui que les autres récits doivent être classés.

This is in accord with the general principle she has formulated in this article and repeats elsewhere, in words we have already cited (65).

The age of the tradition of TJI Ex 1,15 is clear from the parallel text of JOSEPHUS. The tradition of TJI, too, is more sober than that represented

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(63) "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique", *RSR* 43 (1955) 194-227, esp. 212-25.

(64) *A. c.* pp. 213 f.

(65) *Ibid.* p. 212 cited above, p. 35; "Midrash" in *DBS* 5 (1955), 1279; cf. "Ecriture et tradition dans le Judaïsme: Aperçus sur l'origine du Midrash", *CS* 8 (1954) 30.

in the other texts studied by Mlle BLOCH. It may be doubted, however, whether the principle on the tradition as we have it in TJI being the basis of the later developed forms of the other midrashic texts is exact. TJI does not appear to have been well known in rabbinic Judaism. It contains a number of anti-halakic sections absent from the other PT texts and this particular midrash in Ex 1,15 is not found in any of the other PT texts. Her norm on the position of the haggadah of the PT in relation to later midrash is, of course, not affected by this particular text (66).

Conclusion: It appears to be a logical deduction from what we have just said that TJI Ex 1,15 and 7,11 f are old midrashim of pre-Christian origin, and that we now have them in TJI as they existed in the PT in NT times. There is no indication whatever that they are later interpolations. Since the form of the names of the two magicians, i.e. Jannes and Jambres, are identical in 2 Tm 3,8 and in TJI, and as the tradition of 2 Tm 3,8 f. is found in TJI Ex 7,11 f., it does not appear to be beyond the premises to affirm that the tradition known to Paul was that which we find in TJI. This appears all the more probable as the forms of the names used by Paul are not attested elsewhere in Jewish writings. It is also a fair inference that in 2 Tm 3,8 f. Paul is dependent on the PT, or liturgical tradition, in the form preserved in TJI. That such was so becomes more probable when we consider that Paul appears to be dependent on the PT, and on TJI in particular, in other portions of his writings which shall be later considered in greater detail.

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(66) Jannes and Jamres (ינס וימרס) are mentioned again in TJI Nm 22,22 as the pages (עולמוי) of Balaam where the HT merely speaks of the pages (נעריו) of the seer from Aram.

Chapter IV

THE DIVINE NAME AND THE "SECOND DEATH" IN THE APOCALYPSE AND IN THE TARGUMS

In the present chapter we devote our attention to two themes from a single NT book — the Apocalypse — and consider how these compare with certain targumic texts.

In the first article we shall study the divine Name *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, or its variant forms *ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* and *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν*. We purpose to show that the use of this divine Name in the Apocalypse, and the grammatical peculiarities that are so evident in some of the Greek terms used to express it (i. e. *ὁ ἦν*), can be explained through the corresponding formula in TJI Ex 3,14 and TJI Dt 32,39, and by these texts alone. We shall likewise see that there are independent indications to show that TJI Dt 32,39 is a very old, and probably pre-Christian, paraphrase. The probabilities are that this was known to John and influenced him in the composition of his work.

This divine Name is but one of the many links that connect the Apocalypse with the Exodus narrative. There is scarcely need to mention that the Exodus theme plays a major role in the NT writings where the redemption wrought by Christ is described in concepts and terms borrowed from the description of the liberation from Egypt. That this same Exodus motif runs right through the Apocalypse is a point now generally granted by exegetes (1). R. Le Déaut sums up the relation of the Apocalypse to the OT teaching on the Exodus in the following words (2):

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(1) See, e. g. M. E. Boismard, "Exode, marche vers Dieu", *Grands thèmes bibliques*, by M. E. Boismard and others, Paris 1959, pp. 159-65, esp. 165; R. Le Déaut, "Exode", *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 4 (fasc. 30-32, 1961) 1957-1973, esp. 1972, with literature; cf. also H. Sahlin "The New Exodus of Salvation according to St. Paul", *The Root of the Vine. Essays in Biblical Theology*, ed. by A. Fridrichsen, Westminster 1953, pp. 81-95; for the Exodus motif in St Matthew see "The New Exodus and the New Moses" by W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 25-93.

(2) *A. c.* col. 1972.

> *L'Apocalypse,* décrivant le fin de l'histoire, projette dans l'avenir les anciens traits significatifs de l'Exode; toute l'histoire humaine apparaît ainsi comme une libération, un retour vers la vraie terre promise, et les noces de l'Agneau (21,2) y réaliseront l'idéal prophétique de l'Exode (*Osée* 2,16).

In this first article we shall see that the Seer of Patmos appears to have passed from the manner in which the divine Name is given in the biblical text to the manner in which the liturgical rendering of the PT, as represented by TJI, paraphrased this same. This invites one to enquire whether there are other instances in which the Apocalypse passes from the biblical account of the Exodus to the manner in which this is considered in the targumic paraphrase. A full consideration of this point would require an entire monograph, one which we believe would show very positive results. In a later chapter in this work (ch VII) we shall essay to do something in this line by comparing a number of texts from the Apocalypse with the PT paraphrase of the biblical account of events connected with the Exodus and with the desert wanderings.

I. The Divine Name: Who-Is-Who-Was-and-Who-Is-To-Come in the Apocalypse (1,4.8; 4,8; 11,17 and 16,5) and in TJI Ex 3,14; Dt 32,39 [3]

One feature of the Apocalypse is that it contains a number of expressions which recur throughout the entire work. One such is the divine Name the seer uses for God, i. e. ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος (1.4,8),

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[3] See A. T. ROBERTSON, *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament,* New York 1908, pp. 69, 82; *id. A. Grammar of the Greek of the New Testament in the Light of Historical Research,* New York 1914, pp. 135, 574 f.; J. H. MOULTON, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek,* vol. II, part I, ed. by W. F. HOWARD Edinburgh 1919, p. 154; W. D. CHAMBERLAIN, *An Exegetical Grammar of the New Testament,* New York 1941, p. 46; C. F. D. MOULE, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek,* Cambridge 1953, p. 103; F. BLASS - A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch,* 9th ed., Göttingen 1954, § 143, p. 95; A. DEBRUNNER in *GöttGelAnz* 188 (1926) 129-152, reviewing L. RADERMACHER's *Neutestamentliche Grammatik,* 2nd ed., 1925; cf. esp. p. 148; *id.* in *TLZ* 34 (1909) 228.

C. SCHOETTGEN, *Horae hebr.* p. 1082-1085 to Ap 1,4; Str.-B., III, pp. 750, 788.

See also the commentaries to Ap 1,4 etc.; e. g. W. BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis,* (Meyer Kommentar), Göttingen 1896 6th ed. 1906, p. 184; H. B. SWETE,

or its variants *ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (4,8), *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν* (11,17; 16,5), *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* being omitted. We will understand the bearing of the texts from TJI on this divine appellation all the better when we have studied the peculiarities of the individual NT texts and the problems connected with the origin of the designation.

1. *The divine Name in Ap 1,4.8*: The first occurrence of the divine Name is in the general salutation prefixed to the letters addressed to the seven Churches of Asia.

> Grace be to you from him (lit. from *he*) who is and who was and who is to come, and from the seven spirits...
> *χάρις ὑμῖν... ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων.*

The salutation ends:

> "I am the Alpha and the Omega", says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come (*ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*), the Almighty.

The author has failed to observe the most elementary laws of the Greek language on two points in 1,4. First of all he leaves *ὁ ὤν* in the nominative after *ἀπό*. His reason for so doing was not ignorance of Greek; the fact that he writes *ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων* is proof of this (4). He

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The Apocalypse of St. John, 2nd ed., London 1907, p. 5; R. H. CHARLES, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, (ICC), Edinburgh 1920, vol. I, pp. 10 f.; Th. ZAHN, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Leipzig-Erlangen 1924-26; pp. 164; E. B. ALLO, *L'Apocalypse*, (Études Bibliques), Paris, 2nd ed. 1921, pp. cxlviii f.; 3rd. ed. 1933, pp. cxxiii f.; J. E. CARPENTER, *The Johannine Writings, A Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel*, London 1927, pp. 64 f. Ch. C. TORREY, *The Apocalypse of John*, New Haven 1958, p. 53.

E. WERNER, "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church: A Liturgico-Musical Study", *HUCA* 19 (1945-46) 276-328; L. MOWRY, "Revelation 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage", *JBL* 71 (1952) 75-84; A. CABANISS, "A Note on the Liturgy of the Apocalypse", *Interpretation* 7 (1953) 78-86; G. DELLING, "Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannes Offenbarung", *NT* 3 (1959) 107-37, esp. pp. 125 f.; S. LÄUCHLI, "Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannes Offenbarung", *TheolZeit* 16 (1960) 359-78; BÜCHSEL, *"eimi, ho ôn"*, *TWNT* 2 (1935) 396-98; STAUFFER, *"egô"*, *ibid.* pp. 342; SCHNEIDER, *"erchomai"*, *ibid.* pp. 662-72; esp. p. 671 f.

(4) As SCHOETTGEN (*Horae...* p. 1085), CHARLES, *o.c.* p. 10 and other commentators remark, John could have avoided the ungrammatical construction in

has left the entire divine name undeclined because he has considered it as an indeclinable unit (5), or because he is not considering ὁ as the definite article. The second grammatical irregularity is ὁ (which appears to be the definite article) before a verb (ἦν).

Authors in general explain the presence of ἦν between the two participles by the fact that no suitable past participle of εἰμί was available. Had he employed γενόμενος he would have implied mutability in God, an idea which the entire designation intends to exclude. There may be other reasons. R. H. CHARLES (6) has surmised that the Hebrew הַוֶּה וְהָיָה וְיִהְיֶה underlies ὁ ὢν καὶ ἦν. He can find no satisfactory answer for the article preceding ἦν and thinks that it may be introduced by the analogy of ὁ ὤν and ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

From this analysis it is clear that in the divine Name we are in the presence of a designation whose individual terms are left throughout undeclined. We appear to be here in the presence of a traditional designation for God. Our task will be to determine the origin of this and, if possible, to give an explanation of ὁ ἦν.

2. *Ap 4,8*: The next occurrence of the divine Name is the heavenly liturgy in which the four heavenly creatures round about the divine throne never cease to sing:

> Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and who is and who is to come.
> ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

We note that the sequence in the divine Name here is the chronological one and is different from that which we have seen in 1,4.8. The change may be intentional as this hymn is addressed to the Lord as Creator (cf. 4,11). The difference, however, seems to indicate that there was no fixed sequence in the participles and verb that compose the Name.

3. *"He who is and who was", omitting "who is to come"*: In the texts considered above the divine Name was composed of three members. In

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the first part by writing ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὤν. E. LOHMEYER, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Lietzmann's Handbuch), Tübingen 1926, p. 10, notes that this use of the divine Name is "Stil, nicht Vulgarismus".

(5) The indeclinability of the divine Essence and of the divine Name is the usual explanation given for the phenomenon in question by exegetes and grammarians; cf. e. g. E. LOHMEYER, *l. c.*

(6) *O. c.*, p. 10.

the remaining ones (11,17; 16,5) ὁ ἐρχόμενος is omitted. The omission is, however, intentional. As the seventh trumpet was blown, loud voices were heard in heaven saying:

> The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever (11,15).

Then the twenty four elders worshipped, saying:

> We give thanks to thee, O Lord, God Almighty, who is and who was (ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν), for thou hast taken thy great power and begun to reign.

The absence of ὁ ἐρχόμενος is intentional: God is conceived as already having come in his kingdom. This too explains the omission of ὁ ἐρχόμενος in 16,5. The omission, however, makes one suspect that ὁ ἐρχόμενος is not conceived as being an integral part of the divine Name. Supposing that the Apocalyptic writer is employing a designation he has taken from tradition we need not expect to find this third term in the original formula which he has adapted. It may have been entirely absent in this or ὁ ἐρχόμενος may replace some other terms such as "he who will be". The intense expectation of the coming of God in the Apocalypse (7) (1,7 ἔρχεται; 22,17 ἔρχου followed in v. 20 by the equivalent of μαραναθά; cf. 2,5.16; 3,11; 22,7.12.20) indicates that a specifically Christian element was added to the earlier designation on which the NT formula is based, or was substituted for some other term in the earlier formula.

II. The Origin of the Divine Name of the Apocalypse

We now come to consider the origin of this divine Name. To be entirely satisfactory a proposed solution must explain the three-member form of the NT formula and give a reason for the grammatical irregularity so evident in ὁ ἦν...; ὁ ἐρχόμενος, as we have seen, may be of Christian origin or have replaced some other element in the original form of the name.

In seeking the origin of the appellation we have the usual two possibilities of Hellenism and Judaism, this latter being represented by Hellenistic and rabbinic material. All these sources have parallels to offer which we shall now consider.

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(7) Cf. BÜCHSEL, *a. c.* p. 397.

1. *The possible Hellenistic background* (8): SWETE (9) notes that in calling God ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος "the Apocalyptist strikes a note familiar to Hellenic and Jewish ears". This is quite exact. Eternal being is, in fact, described by PLATO (*Timaeus* 37 E) (10) as ὡς ἦν ἔστιν τε καὶ ἔσται. PAUSANIAS (*Descr. Graeciae* 10,12,10) (11) has preserved the following chorus song on Zeus: Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται, ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ. PLUTARCH (*De Is. et Os.* 9) informs us that one could read the following inscription on the façade of the temple of Minerva at Sais: ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον (12). In the Hermetic writings (13) we find as a designation of God: *hoc est, hoc fuit, hoc erit semper.*

That God be described in the manner stated above is only natural; after all, the descriptions do no more than spell out the concept of eternity. Similar phrases can be found in Persian religious writings (14).

We cannot say how common such appellations of God were in the popular religion of John's day (15). In any case, it is most unlikely that the tripartite designation of God which we are considering is in any way dependent on such Greek expressions. The author of the Apocalypse draws his imagery and language from the OT and from Judaism and it is to be presumed that he is also dependent on these same sources for his designation of God as "He who is and who was and who is to come". It is quite clear, of course, that in its present ungrammatical form the formula of the Apocalypse is not borrowed from Hellenic religion, even though it may sound a note familiar to Hellenic ears.

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(8) The Hellenistic, and other parallels are cited and discussed in most of the commentaries; see also BÜCHSEL, *a. c.*, pp. 397 f.

(9) *O. c.*, p. 5.

(10) Ed. A. RIVAUD, "Les Belles Lettres", Paris 1925, p. 151.

(11) Ed. Fr. SPIRO (Bibliotheca Teubner.), vol. 3, Leipzig 1905, p. 133.

(12) This text = *Moralia*, 354 C; ed. G. N. BERNARDUS, *Moralia* (Bibl. Teubner.), Leipzig 1899, p. 479. On this work of PLUTARCH see Th. HOPFNER, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris* (= Monographien des Archiv Orientální, X, two parts, Prague 1940-41); cf. also the note in M. MEUNIER, *Plutarque. Isis et Osiris*, Paris 1924, i. l., pp. 43 f.

(13) The text occurs in *Asclepius* (II), 14b and can be found in *Hermetica*, ed. W. SCOTT, vol. I, Oxford 1924, p. 312,1.10; *Corpus Hermeticum II*, ed. A. D. NOCK - A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, Paris 1945, ("Les Belles Lettres"), p. 313,1.18.

(14) Cf., e. g. *The Bundahis*, ch. 1,3: "Aûharmazd and the region, religion and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be"; translated in *The Sacred Books of the East* (ed. M. MULLER), vol. 5, p. 4 by E. W. WEST, Oxford 1880.

(15) J. BONSIRVEN (*L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* [Verbum Salutis 16], Paris 1951, p. 87, n. 1) doubts whether these Hellenistic designations of God were common in John's day.

2. *The formula and Hellenistic Judaism*: The most natural view of the origin of the designation under consideration is to see in it a paraphrase of divine Name, Yahweh, revealed to Moses (Ex 3,14). When Moses asked God what his name was he received as reply אהיה אשר אהיה: "I am who am", and was told to tell the Israelites: "Who is (אהיה) sent me to you". The LXX renders the text as: *ὁ ὤν ἀπέσταλκέν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς*.

From the LXX, *ὁ ὤν* became a name for God in Hellenistic Judaism. In the LXX([15a]) to Jer 1,6; 14,13; 39(32),17 it is used to render אהה (Ah!) which the translator has misunderstood as the divine Name אהיה. We find it in Wisd 13,1 as a designation of God. PHILO is aware of this LXX usage and writes: *ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται ὁ ὤν* ([16]).

This LXX usage explains but one of the terms of the NT tripartite divine Name. It does not appear that the author of the Apocalypse was in any way influenced by this LXX usage, however, in his own use of the formula he employs, seeing that the relation of the two designations is rather remote and especially considering that the LXX does not appear to have influenced very much, if at all, in the composition of his work ([17]).

3. *Ex 3,14 in rabbinic Judaism*: We have seen that the divine Name under consideration is probably a paraphrase of Ex 3,14. We then, naturally, turn to rabbinic Judaism to see how the Jewish sages considered this text ([18]). In these writings the divine Name revealed to Moses in

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([15a]) RAHLFS emends to *ὦ*.

([16]) *De Abr.* 121; cf. *Deus imm.* 69. JOSEPHUS also uses *ὁ ὤν* as a divine designation; see *JA* 8,13,7, § 350.

([17]) Cf. R. H. CHARLES, *o. c.*, vol. I, p. 66; A. VANHOYE, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse", *Bib* 43 (1962) 436-76; cf. esp. p. 448.

([18]) For the most recent studies on the divine Name YHWH cf. R. MAYER, "Der Gottesname Jahwe im Lichte der neuesten Forschung" [i. e. until 1957], *BibZeit* NF 2 (1958) 26-53; A. MURTONEN, *A Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament Divine Names 'l, 'lwh, 'lhym, and Yhwh*, Helsinki 1952; A. M. DUBARLE, "La signification du nom de Jahweh" *RSPT* 35 (1951) 3-21; G. LAMBERT, "Que signifie le nom divin YHWH?" *NRT* 74 (1952) 897-915; Th. C. VRIEZEN, "Ehejeh asher ehejeh", *Festschrift Bertholet*, Tübingen 1950, pp. 489-512; M. REISEL, *The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H.*, Assen 1957; D. N. FREEDMAN, "The Name of the God of Moses", *JBL* 79 (1960) 151-56; R. ABBA, "The Divine Name Yahweh", *JBL* 80 (1961) 320-28; S. MOWINCKEL, "The Name of the God of Moses", *HUCA* 32 (1961) 121-33; F. M. CROSS, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs", *HTR* 55 (1962) 225-59; QUELL, *s. v. "kyrios"*, *TWNT* 3 (1938) 1069-72; W. L. MORAN, *Adnotationes in libri Exodi capita selecta*, Rome 1964 (in usum privatum tantum auditorum P.I.B.).

Ex 3,14 is mostly interpreted of God's immutability and of his lasting providence toward Israel. The rabbis, in our extant texts, interpret the twofold occurrence of אהיה in 3,14 b rather than the threefold occurrence of the same name in the entire verse.

The belief in the eternal existence and activity of God was a constant source of consolation for his chosen people. This we can see from the lessons deduced from it in Is 41,4 etc. The same is true of the rabbinic writings. In the Mekilta, Shirata 4 to Ex 15,3 we find this attribute of God considered at some length. Being of some importance for our purpose we cite it here according to LAUTERBACH's version (19):

> Scripture, therefore, would not let the nations have an excuse for saying there are two powers, but declares: Adonai is a man of war (Ex 15,3). He it is who was in Egypt, and he who was at the sea. It is he who was in the past and he who will be in the future. It is he who is in this world and he who will be in the world to come as it is said: "See now, it is I, even I, am He" (Dt 32,39). And it also says: "Who hath wrought and done it? He that called the generations from the beginning. I, the Lord, who am the first, and with the last am the same" (Is 41,4).

This text is not directly on Ex 3,14 and has been cited here to show how clearly the belief in God's eternal existence and immutability is expressed in the earliest of the extant homiletic midrashim and how Dt 32,39 and Is 41,4 so naturally came to mind when speaking of these attributes. We shall see how TJI Dt 32,39 is the closest parallel we have to the texts of the Apocalypse. Many think (20) that the inclusion of *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* in the divine Name of these texts is due to Is 41,4 which is rendered in the LXX as *Ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐγώ εἰμι.*

R. Ammi (PA 3, c. 320 A.D.) explains the twofold אהיה of Ex 3,14 b of God's presence with Israel during the servitude of Egypt and during the future exile of Babylon (21). Midrash Psalms (22) to Ps 72,1 explains the threefold אהיה in the following manner:

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(19) *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, Philadelphia 1949, vol. II, pp. 31 f.

(20) Cf. e. g. A. DEBRUNNER, *GöttGelAnz, l. c.*, p. 147; G. DELLING, *a. c.* p. 126.

(21) *Ex. R.* 3 to Ex 3,14; for a German rendering cf. A. W. WÜNSCHE, *Der Midrasch Schemot Rabba*, Leipzig 1882, p. 41.

(22) Cf. W. G. BRAUDE, *The Midrash on the Psalms* (Yale Judaica Series, vol. XIII), tom. I, New Haven 1959, p. 557.

> I created the world with compassion and I govern it with compassion and I will return to Jerusalem with compassion.

The late work, *The Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* [23] has the following explanation of the divine Name of Ex 3,14:

> I have been and I will be; I have been before the world was created and I am the same after the world has been created and I am the same who will be in the world to come.

These texts show how the twofold and threefold occurrence of the divine Name was an object of interest to the rabbis but offer no true parallel to the divine Name as we find it in the Apocalypse. The explanation of the divine Name given by the *Alphabet of R. Akiba* contains the sense but not the form as we find it in the Apocalypse. None of the texts will explain the anomalous ὁ ἦν of the Apocalypse. Then again, all these texts are somewhat too recent for use in NT exegesis, unless we prove that they represent traditions going back to NT times. And in order to do this we must go beyond rabbinic Judaism.

A closer parallel to the NT texts is found in an explanation of the threefold אהיה of Ex 3,14 attributed to R. Isaac (PA 3, c. 300 A.D.) [24] and preserved in *Ex. R.* 3, to Ex 3,14 [25] and in the *Alphabet of R. Akiba* [26]. It is as follows:

ר' יצחק אמר: א"ל הקב"ה למשה	R. Isaac said: The HOBbH [27] said to Moses:
אמור להם אני שהייתי	Say to them: 'I am he who was
ואני הוא עכשיו	and I am he (who is) now,
ואני הוא לע"ל	and I am he (who will be) for ever".
לכן כתיב אהיה ג' פעמים.	Wherefore is it said thrice; 'I am".

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[23] For a German rendering see A. WÜNSCHE, *Kleine Midraschim zur jüdischen Ethik, Buchstaben- und Zahlen-Symbolik*, vol. IV, Leipzig 1909, p. 223; The original can be seen in *Midrash ha-Gadol* II, 29; in *Beth ha-Midrash*, vol. III.

[24] The texts referring to this Amora are collected by W. BACHER, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, vol. II, Strasbourg 1896; pp. 205-95. Th. ZAHN, *o. c.* p. 164, confuses this Amora with his Tannaitic namesake, the pupil of R. Ishmael, on whom see W. BACHER, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. II, Strasbourg 1890, (2nd ed. 1903), pp. 397-99, to which passage Th. ZAHN refers.

[25] For the text cf. W. BACHER, *Agad. der pal. Amor.* II, p. 236; in Str.-B., III, p. 750 to Heb. 13,8.

[26] *L. c.* in n. 23 above.

[27] "The Holy One, Blessed be He"; a common designation for God in rabbinic literature. On the history of the designation see S. ESH, הקב"ה "*Der*

שהייתי, as we shall see ([28]), is a good parallel to ὁ ἦν. No exact parallel is offered in this text to ὁ ὤν. Then there remains the possibility that the exegesis really originated with R. Isaac himself and does not represent NT Judaism.

4. *The PT to Ex 3,14*: There is an antecedent probability that the liturgical paraphrase of the PT is much older than any of the rabbinic texts which we have cited above. It is natural, then, that we turn to the PT to see how it paraphrases the passage in which the name YHWH is revealed to Moses.

We are fortunate in possessing the PT to Ex 3,14 in a variety of recensions: TJI; TJII Polyglots; TJII Paris 110; N; Ngl I ([29]) and Ngl 2 (left-hand margin). From the viewpoint of the nature of their paraphrases these various PT texts fall into three classes: *a*) Ngl I; *b*) TJII and Ngl 2; *c*) TJI. We shall deal with each class separately. First of all we give the HT of Ex 3,14. It is as follows:

ואמר אלהים למשה	*a*) And the Lord said to Moses:
אהיה אשר אהיה	*b*) "I AM WHO I AM".
ואמר כה תאמר לבני ישראל	*c*) And he said: "Thus shall you say to the children of Israel:
אהיה שלחני אליכם.	*d*) 'I AM has sent me to you' ".

We leave to exegetes the scientific problems connected with the origin and meaning of the Tetragammaton, problems that were but little sensed by the Meturgemanin. The task of the Targumist was to explain to the people, if he so desired, the richness of doctrine contained in the divine Name revealed to the Lawgiver.

We first take the rendering of this verse given in *Ngl I* ([30]). It runs:

אנא הוויתי עד לא איתברא עלמא	*b*) "I have existed before the world was created;

Heilige — er sei gepreisen: Zur Geschichte einen nachbiblisch-hebräischen Gottesbezeichnung, Leiden 1957.

([28]) Below pp. 109 f.

([29]) For these glosses cf. n. 26 to chapter II above.

([30]) According to M. Martin ("The Palaeographical Character of Neofiti 1", *Textus* 3 [1963] 26 f.) the glosses to Ex 3,14 and surrounding folios were inserted by *manus* 8, whose identity is unknown (cf. *ibid.*, p. 32).

ואנא הוויתי מן דאיתבריה עלמ'	and I have existed after the world was created;
אנא הוא דהוויתי כסעדכון בגלותא דמצראי	I am he who was your support during the captivity of Egypt;
ואנא הוא דעתיד למהווי כסעדכו' בכל דר ודר	and I am he who will be your support during all generations"
ואמר כדנא תימר לבני ישראל	*c*) And he said: "Thus shall you say to the children of Israel:
אהיה שלח יתי לוותכון	*d*) 'I AM has sent me to you' ".

This paraphrase explains only the first two occurrences of the divine Name, i. e. those of 14 b. In the third occurrence (14 d) the Hebrew radicals are merely reproduced. The paraphrase itself has little to offer as a parallel to the Apocalypse texts and its paraphrase is a combination of the explanations we have seen connected with the name of R. Ammi and of that found in the *Alphabet of R. Akiba.*

TJII Polyglots, TJII Paris 110 and Ngl 2 represent a different tradition with PT texts to Ex 3,14. Even within these texts there exist slight differences. *TJII Polyglots* renders ([31]):

ואמר מימרא דה' למשה	*a*) And the Memra of the Lord said to Moses:
דין דאמר לעלמא הוי והוי	*b*) "He who said to the world: Be! and it was;
ועתיד למימר ליה הוי והוי	and who shall yet say to it: Be! and it will be";
ואמר ליה	*c*) And he said to him:
אהיה	*d*) "I AM"

Ngl 2 ([32]) has a text practically identical with the above one. It reads:

(ואמר) מימריה דה למשה / דן דאמר לעלמ' הווי והווה ועתיד למימ' ליה הוי והווי / ואמ' / כדין תמ' לבני ישראל אחיה שלחן

([31]) Aramaic text and Latin version in WALTON; Eng. trans. in J. W. ETHERIDGE *o. c.*, vol. I, p. 450.

([32]) We may recall that FELIX PRATENSIS and TJII, which he edited in 1517 would be known in the circles of AEGIDIUS; cf. n. 26 to chapter II, above. "The wise and mighty Master Ae[g]idio" for whom the MS of N has been made according to the colophon has been identified with AEGIDIUS of Viterbo by G. SACREDOTE, an identification accepted by DÍEZ MACHO, (*Noticias cristianas de Israel*, 13 [1962] 23 and elsewhere) and others. Cf., however, p. 47, note, above.

The Paris MS and N present texts somewhat longer than those just considered. *Paris 110*, ed. M. GINSBURGER ([33]), has the following rendering:

ואמר מימרא דה' למשה / דין דאמר לעלמא מן שירויא הוי והוה ועתיד למימר ליה הוי והוי / ואמר / כדין תימר לבני ישראל הוא דשלח ([34]) יתי לותכון.

a) And the Memra of the Lord said to Moses: *b*) "He who said to the world from the beginning: Be! and it was, and is yet to say to it: Be! and it will be". *c*) And he said to him: "Thus shall you say to the children of Israel: *d*) 'He (who) ([34]) sent me to you' ".

The text of *N* is as follows:

ואמר ,י, למשה / אהיה אשר אהיה / ואמר כדין תאמר לבני ישראל / מן דאמר והוה עלמא מן שרויא ועתיד למימר ליה הווי ויהווי הוא ([35]) שלח יתי לוותכון.

a) And the Lord said to Moses: *b*) I AM WHO I AM". *c*) And he said to him: "Thus shall you say to the children of Israel: *d*) 'He who spoke and the world was from the beginning and shall again say to it: Be! and it will be. He ([35]) has sent me to you' ".

Commentary on these texts: הוי והוי of TJII and Nmg 2 are, respectively, the imperative ([36]) and the participle ([37]) of הוה. The participle here bears the sense of the imperfect ([38]), which is the form we actually find in N.

([33]) *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 28.

([34]) דשלח is probably a scribal error for שלח, the text found in TJII, Polyglot, and Ngl.

([35]) F. M. CROSS and W. L. MORAN (cf. n. 18) think that יהוה is the Hiphil of הוה, the archaic form of היה and means: "He who causes to be". "Sicut quidem dii noti sunt ut Epuh vel Esuh, Deus, Israel est Jahwe. 'Causat esse', non hic vel illud, sed simpliciter" (W. L. MORAN, *o. c.*, p. 78).

([36]) Cf. G. DALMAN, *Grammatik*[2], p. 354.

([37]) *Ibid.*, p. 355.

([38]) Cf. H. ODEBERG, *Short Grammar of Galilaean Aramaic* (= The Aramaic Portions of Bereshit Rabba II), Lunds Univ. Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd 36 Nr 4, Lund-Leipzig 1939, p. 101, § 439 (end).

All three of the texts take the divine Name to imply God's creative activity at the first and at the future and second creation (39). Then, they explain only the twofold occurrence of the divine Name in 14 b (40). TJII Polyglots, as Nmg I, reproduces the Hebrew radicals אהיה at 14 d. It is quite possible that הוא of the Paris MS and of N is a corruption of אהיה, the word found in the Polyglot text.

None of the four PT texts we have considered is a true parallel to the form of the divine Name as we find it in the Apocalypse, except in so far as they speak of God's existence in the past and in the future. They scarcely go beyond what we find in rabbinic sources. In none of them do we find an explanation of *ὁ ἦν* of the Apocalypse.

5. *TJI Ex 3,14* (41): TJI has a paraphrase that differs from the texts just considered. It paraphrases Ex 3,14 as:

ואמר יי למשה	*a*) And the Lord said to Moses:
דין דאמר והוה עלמא	*b*) "He who spoke and the world was;
אמר והוה כולא	who spoke and all things were";
ואמר כדנא תימר	*c*) And he said:" Thus shall you
לבני ישראל	say to the children of Israel:
אנא הוא דהוינא ועתיד למיהוי	*d*) I AM HE WHO IS AND WHO
שדרני לוותכון.	WILL BE has sent me to you".

'הוינא', rendered above as "(who) is", is the personal pronoun אנא conjoined with the participle הוי. The use of the combined pronoun and participle, found also in O (cf. Dt 32,39), is common in TJI (42). If we render the word in the present tense, as we have done, הוינא is an exact parallel of (*ὁ*) *ὤν*. הוינא can, however, be also understood as "I was" (43). We have a clear example of the form in this sense in TJII, N, PTG, MS C, to Gn 30,40 where it is used to translate הייתי of the HT. In this case הוינא would be a parallel to *ἦν* of the Apocalypse.

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(39) On the theme of the eschatological renewal in the PT see R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, pp. 248-51.

(40) O and the Peshitta reproduce the four radicals אהיה on all three occasions. For the relation of the Peshitta to the PT cf. n. 34 to chapter II above. P. WERNBERG-MØLLER (*l. ibi c.*) sees a relation rather between O and the Peshitta.

(41) The Aramaic text can be found in WALTON and in M. GINSBURGER's ed. of the London MS. On this edition see p. 135 below.

(42) For this usage cf. G. DALMAN, *Grammatik*², § 65, pp. 289-91.

(43) It is so rendered by Str-B. III, p. 788.

But the relation of the form of the divine name in TJI Ex 3,14 goes beyond the mere word חוינא. The relative particle ד which stands before it must also be considered. We have seen (44) how R. H. CHARLES failed to find an explantion of the article ὁ before ἦν, though he surmised that the Hebrew הַהוֹוֶה וְהָיֶה stood behind ὁ ὤν καὶ ὁ ἦν. Some years later A. DEBRUNNER recalled the parallels from *Ex. R.* and TJI Ex 3,14 and Dt 32,39, noting that ὁ is not really the Greek definite article but that it merely represents the indeclinable Semitic *nota relativi* (45). This in Hebrew is ש and in Aramaic ד. This will give us an explanation of ὁ before ἦν. There is no reason why ὁ before ὤν and ἐρχόμενος should not also be taken as representing the same relative particle of Hebrew and Aramaic. If such is the case we can see why it is left undeclined before ἀπό in Ap 1,4.

So far we have found in TJI Ex 3,14 a true parallel for one of the parts of the Apocalypse tripartite divine Name. Ὁ ἐρχόμενος may well replace עתיד למיהוי of the same text, before which, of course, the *nota relativi* ד, "who", is understood. This would give us the third member of the Apocalypse form.

M. GINSBURGER (46) believes that the bipartite form of the London MS (f. 61 a) of TJI we have reproduced above (אנא הוא דהוינא ועתיד למיהוי), and which is identical with that of WALTON, is erroneous and should be tripartite. In his printed text he introduces דהויה, "who was", after הוא. This gives an excellent parallel to the divine Name in the Apocalypse. The emendation, however, has no manuscript support and is scarcely required by the context of TJI. A tripartite formula is, in any case, implicit by the nature of things, if not by the context (cf. TJI 3,14 d.).

TJI Ex 3,14 of WALTON and the London MS, though better than any passage so far considered, is yet not a quite perfect parallel to the divine Name in the Apocalypse. Such a parallel we find in TJI Dt 32,39.

6. *TJI Dt 32,39*: Towards the end of his final canticle Moses has God say (Dt 32,39):

> "See now that I, even I, am He (אני אני הוא); and there is no God beside me; I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal and there is none can deliver out of my hand".

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(44) See n. 6 and p. 100 of text above.

(45) In *GöttGelAnz, a. c.*, p. 148; In *TLZ* 34 (1909) 228 he criticized A. T. ROBERTSON for taking ὁ of ὁ ὤν as the Greek relative pronoun.

(46) *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. 102.

O renders the verse quite literally. TJII and N, with identical texts, paraphrase as follows:

> "See now that I in my Memra am he and there is no other God beside me. I am he who kills the living in this world and vivifies (מחיי) the dead in the world to come. I am he who smites and I am he who heals and there is none to save from my hands".

TJI has a different paraphrase which we give here, showing the biblical text by italics.

כד יתגלי מימרא דיי	When the Memra of the Lord will
לפרוק ית עמיה	be revealed to redeem his people
יימר לכל עממיא	he will say to all the nations:
חמון כדון ארום	*"See now that*
אנא הוא דהוי והוית	*I AM HE* WHO IS AND WHO WAS
ואנא הוא דעתיד למהוי	and I AM HE WHO WILL BE [47]
ולית אלהא חורן בר מיני	*and there is no other God beside me.*
אנא במימרי ממית ומחי	*I* in my Memra *kill and make alive*
מחיתי ית עמא בית ישראל	*I smote* the people of Israel
ואנא אסי יתהון בסוף	*and* will *heal* them in the end
יומיא ולית	of the days *and there is none*
דמשזיב מן ידי גוג	*to rescue from* the *hands* of Gog
ומשרייתיה כד אתן	and his army when they come
למסדרא סדרי קרבא עמהון.	to set battle array against them".

Here we encounter the same divine Name we have already met in TJI Ex 3,14, but now in its tripartite form. This text of TJI Dt 32,39 is a perfect parallel to the divine Name in the Apocalypse. דהוי is the relative particle ד + הוי the participle, in the meaning of the present. It is then the exact equivalent of *ὁ ὤν*. הוית is again the perfect qal, with the relative particle ד presupposed and is the exact equivalent of *ὁ ἦν*. עתיד למהוי would correspond to *ἐσόμενος* rather than to *ἐρχόμενος*. We

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[47] אני הוא of the HT is taken, seemingly, as the Divine Name; cf. Is 41,4 (connected with Dt 32,39 in the Mekilta; see above p. 104); 43,10 etc. Cf. STAUFFER, *a. c.*, *TWNT* III, esp. pp. 342, 350 ff.; BÜCHSEL, *a. c. TWNT* III, esp. p. 398.

have seen, however, that *ἐρχόμενος* is probably either a Christian addition or a Christian adaptation of some other term or terms. We must note that the idea of God's "coming" is present in this text of TJI which speaks of the end of the days and the *advent* (אתן) of Gog to war against Israel. It is then that God will be revealed to redeem his people and it is then that he will remind all nations of his divine Name.

It appears that *ὁ ὤν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* of the Apocalypse is a servile rendering of the Aramaic דהוי (ו)הוית (ד)עתיד למיתא and is perfectly paralleled in TJI Dt 32,39 and in this text alone of those available to us, or at least of those studied in this connection. It is not to be excluded that the Apocalypse is directly dependent on TJI Dt 32,39 in its use of it, although it is possible that both texts are dependent on the same early liturgical tradition ([48]). In favour of a direct dependence of the NT writing on TJI Dt 32,39 stands the fact that Dt 32,4 is referred to in Ap 15,3 (Song of Moses); Dt 32,40 in Ap 10,5 and Dt 32,43 in Ap 6,10; 18,20 and 19,2. Then again, the hymn in which the divine Name occurs in 4,8 begins with the words: "Holy, holy, holy..." Now TJII and N Dt 32,3 say: "It is not possible for any of the angels on high to recall (למידכרא) the glorious Name (שמא מפרשא) until they say 'Holy, holy, holy' three times". This particular paraphrase, though absent from TJI, appears to have been part of the early PT paraphrase and would probably be known to the Apocalyptic writer so well versed in Jewish liturgy.

EXCURSUS

The Early Dating of TJI Dt 32 - 33 ([49])

The NT parallels in themselves argue an early date for TJI Dt 32,39. We also have independent evidence that TJI Dt 32 and 33 are of a very early date, or, at least, preserves some very early portions.

To begin with, it appears that Dt 32 was in use in the Jewish liturgy from an early pre-Christian age. The LXX has a number of variants from the MT (notably in 32,8 and 32,43) and presupposes a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from that of the MT. Fragments of Dt 32 have been found in Qumran ([50]). The Qumran MS bearing Dt 32 appears to

([48]) Cf. G. DELLING, *a. c.*, pp. 126.

([49]) Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 f.

([50]) Published by P. SKEHAN, "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut XXXII) from Qumran", *BASOR* 136 (1954) 12-15.

have been an independent work, never followed by chh 33 and 34. It is noteworthy that the Qumran fragment to Dt 32,8, which reads that God divided the boundaries of the nations according to the numbers of the sons of God (i. e. Angels, MT 'the sons of Israel'), has the text presupposed by the LXX which reads *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ*. O, TJII and N follow the MT text in their rendering, of this particular phrase. TJI, however, paraphrases the Qumran and LXX reading, which is combined with that of the MT in our present recension of TJI. Its paraphrase of Dt 32,8 f. runs ([50a]) — (italics indicate the biblical text):

> (32,8) *When the Most High gave the inheritance of the world to the nations* that went forth from the sons of Noah (cf. Gn 10,32), *when he divided* writings and languages to *the sons of men* at the generation of the separation (i. e. at Babel), at that very time he cast the lot *with the* seventy *angels*, the masters of the nations with whom he was revealed to see the city (cf. TJI Gn 11,7 f.); at that very time *he established the boundaries of the nations according to the sum total of* the seventy souls of *Israel* who descended into Egypt (Ex 1,5). (32,9) And when the holy people fell (to be) the lot of the Lord of the world, Michael opened his mouth and said: *'the good portion of the* name of the Memra of the *Lord is his people'*. Gabriel opened his mouth in praise and said: *'To the house of Jacob belongs the share of his inheritance'*.

A. GEIGER ([51]) believes that in this text of TJI we have a passage that is based on a pre-Masoretic Text *Vorlage* and was consequently composed before the MT was given its present definite shape after the destruction of the temple. The view is certainly probable, all the more so when we realize that this chapter of the HT was apparently in use in the liturgy in pre-Christian times. That the rendering should be retained only in TJI is quite natural. This Tg has retained a number of anti-halakic

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([50a]) From the London MS *f.*226*a*; cf. J. W. ETHERIDGE, *The Targums to the Pentateuch*, vol. II. See T. F. GLASSON, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (S.P.C.K. Biblical Monographs, No. 1), London 1961, pp. 69-73, for the relation of the text to the Testament of Naphtali 8,3 ff. and to Greek literature. Other traditions common to TJI and the Testaments are studied by A. MARMORSTEIN, *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum*, pp. 27-30.

([51]) *Urschrift*, 2nd ed., p. 294.

passages absent from the other PT texts [52]. As instance we may give Gn 29,17 censured in *Gen. R.* 70; Lv 18,21 censured in M *Meg* 4,9 (the censured text is also in the Peshitta); Lv 22,28 censured in Jer Tal to *Ber* 5,3 and *Meg* 4,9 [52a]. The only explanation of the presence of these texts in TJI [53] is that this recension of the PT has undergone a less severe rabbinic recension than the other PT texts, which, while they appear to be fundamentally old very probably lack old PT paraphrases extant in TJI [54].

The only passage of the PT to which a precise date of composition is given is TJI Dt 33,11. The pericope is the final section of the blessing of Moses on Levi. The HT has [55]:

> Bless, O Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, and those that hate him, that they rise not again.

In TJI the passage is thus paraphrased:

> Bless, O Lord, the substance of the house of Levi, who give the tithe of the tithes; and the offering of the hands of Elijah the priest which he offered on Mount Carmel accept graciously. Break asunder the loins of Ahab his enemy and the necks of the false prophets who withstand him; *and let there not be for those that hate Johanan the High Priest a foot to stand on.*

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[52] These texts have been studied by S. GRONEMANN, *Die jonathan'sche Pentateuch-Uebersetzung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Halacha*, Leipzig 1879. The work treats of other questions besides the anti-halakic texts.

[52a] See below pp. 134-38.

[53] It appears, on the other hand, that N, and perhaps other PT texts, has been given a rabbinic recension which has removed some anti-halakic passages and has brought other texts into line with rabbinic views: cf. pp. 62 f. above and 135-38 below.

[54] We may recall that the halakah of TJI points to an early date for this PT text; cf. A. MARMORSTEIN *ZAW* 49, NF 8 (1931) 234 f. and above pp. 60 f.

[55] This text (Dt 33,8-11) was considered Messianic in Qumran and was applied to the priestly Messiah from Aaron. We find it in 4 Testimonia (from c, 80 B. C., cf. J. T. MILIK, *Ten Years...* p. 61; J. STARCKY, *RB* 70 [1963] 497 f.) together with Dt 18,18 f.; Nm 24,15-17 and Jos 6,26 as part of a Messianic Anthology. The text is published by J. M. ALLEGRO in *JBL* 75 (1956) 182-87. For an Eng. trans. see *ibid.* and G. VERMES, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, pp. 245 f.

Johanan the Priest can scarcely be any other than John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) [56]. A. GEIGER [57], T. NÖLDEKE [58], P. KAHLE [59] and others [60] take it that this text really refers to John Hyrcanus and dates from his reign. So does R. MEYER [61] who in a recent study of the text takes Elias of the text to be another designation of Johanan the High Priest, i. e. John Hyrcanus. Ahab, he believes to be none other than the Moresedek of the Qumran scrolls, who according to R. MEYER broke with the priesthood and official Judaism during the reign of Hyrcanus. The "prophets of lies" of TJI would then be the "seers of falsehood" of Qumran and both designations would refer to the same enemies, viz. the Pharisees. J. BASSFREUND [62] and G. DALMAN [63] refuse to see an old PT text in the passage of TJI. At most, according to G. DALMAN [64], we have here fragments of an old midrash which does not prove the passage of TJI itself is old. A. T. OLMSTEAD [65] takes it that the passage

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[56] Hyrcanus bore the title "High Priest" even on his coins; once a disciple of the Pharisees, he later turned against them. For the reason of this change of attitude see JOSEPHUS, *JA* 13,10,5 f., §§ 288-98; *BJ* 1,2,8, § 67). Hyrcanus' attitude towards the Pharisees would explain why the paraphrases of TJI Dt 33,11 is not found in other PT texts. Unlike Lv 22,28 (cf. below pp. 137-38), it does not appear that the paraphrase of TJI to this verse ever formed part of TJII or N. In the latter text the rendering of v. 11 has been omitted by inadvertence, but added in square script in the margin.

[57] *Urschrift*, p. 479.

[58] *Die alttestamentliche Literatur*, Leipzig 1868, p. 256.

[59] *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., pp. 203 f.

[60] M. GINSBURGER, "Zum Fragmententhargum", *MGWJ* 41 (1897) 65 ff.; 98; F. P. W. BUHL, *Kanon und Text des Alten Testament*, Leipzig 1891; Eng. trans. *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, Edinburgh 1892, p. 180; cf. E. SCHÜRER, *GJV* I, 3rd and 4th ed. (1901) 152; Eng. trans., *HJP*, I, p. 150.

[61] " 'Elia' und 'Ahab' (Tg. Ps.-Jon zu Deut. 33,11)" in *Abraham unser Vater. Festschrift Otto Michel*, Leiden 1963, pp. 356-68.

[62] "Die Erwähnung Jochanans des Hohenpriesters im Pseudojonathan zu Dt 33,11 und das angeblich hohe Alter dieses Targums" *MGWJ* 44 (1900) 481-86.

[63] *Die Worte Jesu*, I, (1930); pp. 68 f. Eng. trans. *The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh 1902, pp. 84-86; *Grammatik*^{2}, pp. 30 f.

[64] *Grammatik*^{2}, p. 31; *Words*, pp. 85 f.

[65] "Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?" *JNES* 1 (1942) 62. His criteria for an early date on PT are not too exacting; in the same context he takes PT Gn 15,12 to be earlier than 6 B. C. because it speaks of the four world kingdoms Babel, Media, Javan and Edom = Herodian dynasty! Edom, of course, is a common name for Rome in Amoraic times and possibly earlier. So as to steer clear of Christian censors later scribes sometimes replaced it by Persia which OLMSTEAD (*ibid.*) takes to refer to the Sasanid empire, post 226 A.D. For this

is a very ancient one referring to Hyrcanus' victory over the Samaritans in 128 B.C. but is interpolated into the PT context, which, curiously enough, he takes to be older than the date when the interpolated passage was composed!

There is nothing improbable in the view of A. GEIGER and P. KAHLE that sees here a passage of the PT from the 2nd century B.C. It is probable that the blessing of Moses was then in liturgical use ([66]), and if so, it must have been accompanied by a liturgical paraphrase or a Targum. The parallel passage from Genesis bearing the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) must also have been employed in the liturgy from early times. And we shall see ([67]) how one passage of this (Gn 49,11 f.) appears to carry a pre-Christian paraphrase in the present PT texts.

Our consideration on Dt 32 and 33 may throw some light on the history of the formation of the PT. We may then be permitted to recall here what we have written earlier ([67a]) . It lies in the nature of things that the formation of the liturgical paraphrase, which is the PT, must have followed the public reading of the Torah in the synagogue. Our sources for the synagogue reading of the Scriptures are found mainly in the Mishnah, which here, according to the experts, reflects the ideal of the rabbis of the 2nd century A.D. rather than the reality of that or of earlier periods ([68]). The Mishnah stipulates that the Torah be read in sequence from Genesis to Deuteronomy ([69]). It does not appear that such was the case in the 2nd century A.D. and, much less, at the earlier period ([70]). It is possible that at first passages of the Torah were read and paraphrased in the synagogue without any fixed order ([71]). Dt 32, as we have seen, was most probably one such passage. So also would such important texts as Dt 33 and Gn 49 be. The Tg to these would then have been formed earlier than the others. Some biblical passages may not have been employed in liturgical use before Christian times. The PT to these would then show their recent origin.

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use of Persia = Rome, cf. JASTROW, *Dictionary*.... p. 1233; for Edom = Rome cf. *ibid.* p. 16.

([66]) We may recall its use as a Messianic text in Qumran; cf. n. 55 above.

([67]) Below, pp. 230-33.

([67a]) Pp. 40-45 above.

([68]) Cf. above pp. 43 f.

([69]) Cf. above p. 42.

([70]) *Ibid.*

([71]) *Ibid.* and n. 13 to pp. 42 f.

It appears then that we must expect strata from various ages in the PT. We should refrain from attempting to date the work as such to one single age. There is nothing incongruous in finding such old pericopes as A. GEIGER believes are present in Dt 32,8 and Dt 33,11 while admitting that other passages are certainly of later origin.

III. "The Second Death" in the Apocalypse and the Targums [72]

A. *The Expression in the New Testament*

The Apocalypse speaks of "the Second Death", *ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος*, (Syr. מותא תנינא) four times. The expression is not found elsewhere in the NT.

The first occurrence of the designation is Ap 2,11 where Christ says, through John, to the Church of Smyrna: "Do not fear what you are about to suffer... be faithful unto death... he who conquers shall not be hurt by the *second death*". The meaning of "the second death" is here left undefined, though it is contrasted with martyrdom or corporal death which confronts some members of the Church.

Ap 20,6 is more explicit on what the second death is. The context is speaking of the millennium at the beginning of which those who have been beheaded for Christ come to life to reign with him for a thousand years. This is the first resurrection (20,4 f.). "Blessed and holy is he who shares in the first resurrection! Over such the *second death* has no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ and shall reign with him a thousand years" (20,6).

The concept of "the second death" is not quite clear. Does it mean exclusion from the first resurrection? Or is it some future event which those sharing in this first resurrection need not fear? Our doubts are dispelled by two other texts. Both these refer to the end of the millennium when the last enemies of God and of humanity are conquered. After the destruction of Gog and Magog "the devil who had deceived them (i. e. the nations from the four corners of the world represented by Gog and Magog [73], cf. 8) was thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and the false prophet were (cf. 19,20), and they will be torment-

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[72] Cf. Th. ZAHN, "Der zweite Tod" in *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 604-08; R. BULTMANN, "*Thanatos*" *TWNT* 3 (1938), p. 17, n. 74; *id.* "*Zôê*", *TWNT* 2 (1935), p. 858, n. 198.

[73] On Gog see below pp. 233-37.

ed day and night for ever and ever" (20,10). Then, after the final judgement, Death and Hades will be thrown into the lake of fire. *"This is the second death, the lake of fire"* (20,14). Sinners will have a similar fate: "their lot shall be *in the lake that burns with fire* and brimstone, which is the *second death*" (21,8).

B. *The Second Death in Judaism, in the Tgs in Particular*

An expression used four times must have been current coinage when the Apocalypse was being composed, in certain circles at least. Since we find the designation used in contexts speaking of such Jewish and Christian themes as the resurrection, general judgment and eternal punishment it is evident that its origins are not to be sought in Hellenistic religion (74). The expression must have come from Judaism, unless it was coined by Christianity.

The corresponding Jewish expression for "second death" is מות שני in Hebrew and מותא תנינא in Aramaic. Str.-B. (75) note that the Hebrew designation is found only in the late work, the *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* (76).

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(74) The expression *δεύτερος θάνατος* occurs also in PLUTARCH, *De facie in orbe lunae* 27,6 (= *Moralia* 942 F): "Into that field none of the wicked or impure comes; the good are taken there after death. They enjoy a most easy life, which is not, however, blessed or divine until the second death (*ἄχρι τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου*)". The text has been noted as a parallel to the Apocalypse by H. ALMQUIST in *Plutarch und das Neue Testament. Ein Beitrag zum Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 15), Uppsala 1946, who cites the passage and comments as follows: (p. 139) " Die Vorstellung von des *δεύτερος θάνατος* ist bei Plut. wie im N.T. (vgl. Apk. 20,6.14; 21,8) mit dem Glauben an Auferstehung und Gericht verbunden". The coincidence of the expression in PLUTARCH and in the Apocalypse is purely external; the sense is totally different. In the context (*De fac. lun.* 28,1 = *Mor.* 943 A) PLUTARCH considers man as being composed of three elements, body (*σῶμα*), soul (*ψυχή*) and intelligence (*νοῦς*) and shows how he believes intelligence becomes liberated from body and soul and reaches happiness. The body is supplied by earth and the soul by the moon. The *first death* on earth liberates the composite from the body; after some time soul and intelligence of the just come to dwell in partial happiness on the moon. (It is to this state the text cited from *Mor.* 942 F refers). On the moon, which supplied the soul, intelligence becomes liberated from the soul, which dies, and intelligence then goes to perfect bliss on the sun. *Pace* H. ALMQUIST, resurrection is as foreign to this text of PLUTARCH as it is to Greek thought in general. For the notion that souls dwell on the moon after death cf. P. CAPELLE, *De luna, stellis, lacteo orbe animarum sedibus*, Hallis Saxonum, 1917, pp. 1-18.

(75) *Kommentar*, III to Ap 20,6, pp. 830 f.

(76) 34 (18a).

This writing is dated to the beginning of the 9th cent. which makes its use as a parallel for the NT passages of no great value. The Aramaic expression for "second death" is found only in the Targums (77), as has been noted by Str.-B. These authors also remark that, although other Jewish writings do not contain the terms, they do have the concept of "second death" which bears either of two meanings:

(*a*) Exclusion from the resurrection, i. e. remaining in the grave.
(*b*) Passing to eternal damnation.

STRACK - BILLERBECK only give two examples from the Tgs, Tg Jer 51, 39. 57, and both in illustration of meaning *a* of the expression. Both are taken from a chapter containing an oracle against Babylon.

1. *Tg Jer 51,39*: The HT of this passage has:

> "While they — are inflamed I will prepare for them a feast and make them drunk so that they swoon away and sleep a perpetual sleep and awake not" says the Lord.

The Tg paraphrases as follows (78):

איתא עליהון עקא	I will bring upon them distress
ויהון דמן לרויא	and they shall be like drunken men
בדיל דלא יהון תקיפין	so that they may not be strong
וימותון מותא תנינא	and they shall die *the second death*
ולא ייחון לעלמא דאתי.	and shall not live in the world to come.

(77) The bearing of the occurrence of the expression in TJI Dt 33,6 on the Ap was noted by B. WALTON in *Prolegomenon XII*, § 14, p. 85, to the London Polyglot, London 1657. J. BUXTORF, *Lexicon chaldaicum...*, *s. v.* מות, Basle 1640, col. 1181; (ed. FISCHER, Leipzig 1875, p. 601) who has noted the occurrences of the expression in the Tgs omits TJI Dt 33,6 and adds Tg Ps 49,11 to those we are to consider. On this last text he remarks: "in Regiis". This text from Tg Ps 49 is then better excluded, not being attested in other MSS or editions. Jewish and non-Jewish parallels may be found in SCHOETTGEN, *o. c.* pp. 1136 f.; WOLFIUS, *Curae phil. et crit.*, vol. V, Basle 1741, p. 460; WETSTEIN, vol. II, p. 756. Note that SCHOETTGEN, *o. c.* pp. 1136 f. finds other instances of the expression beyond those of the Targums and PRE by taking מיתא משונה to mean "second death". This is, however, to be rendered "violent death"; cf. the rendering of *BabBatra* 10 a (last words) in the Soncino English version (p. 48) and in GOLDSCHMIDT's German one (p. 957).

(78) For the Aramaic text see WALTON and A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. III.

2. *Jer 51,57*: Jer 51,57 cd is a parallel oracle on the princes and the wise men of Babylon. The HT has:

> "They shall sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake" says the King whose name is the Lord of Hosts.

The Tg paraphrases as (79):

> ויתותון מותא תנינא They shall die *the second death*
> ולא ייתון לעלמא דאתי. and shall not come to the world to come.

These targumic examples are good illustrations of the first meaning of "the second death" given by STRACK - BILLERBECK. It is possible that in Ap 20,6 "the second death" means no more than exclusion from the resurrection. It is more probable that in all the texts of the Apocalypse where the expression occurs it designates eternal damnation, or "the death which the unjust die in the world to come" as rabbinic writings express the concept (80).

It is to be regretted that Str.-B. have passed over other passages of the Tgs where this same expression "second death" occurs, texts, some of which are far better parallels to the use of the terms in the Apocalypse than those used in the *Kommentar* (81). We give these other occurrences of the designation here, following the biblical order.

3. *Tg Dt 33,6*: In his last blessing on the tribes of Israel Moses prays as follows for Reuben:

> Let Reuben live and not die and let his warriors be few (Dt 33,6)(82).

We know from the Talmud (*Sanh* 92 a) that this was a *locus theologicus* from which the resurrection or, to use the rabbinic term, "vivification" (83), of the dead was proved.

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(79) For Aramaic text see as in preceding note.

(80) See, e. g. TJII and N Dt 33,6 cited immediately below.

(81) III, pp. 830 f.

(82) The rendering of the RSV is followed; for difficulties of the HT cf. the commentaries.

(83) Cf. G. F. MOORE, *Judaism II*, pp. 379 f. and the Index *s. v.* "Resurrection".

> Rabba (BA4, c. 352 A. D.) said: How do we prove the vivification of the dead from the Torah? He said: *May Reuben live and die not* (Dt 33,6). *Let Reuben live* — in this world; *and die not* — in the world to come.

The Tgs take "to die" of Dt 33,6 to refer to the second death. O paraphrases [84] — (italics show explanatory addition to the HT):

ייחי ראבן בחיי עלמא	Let Reuben live *in eternal life*
ומותא תנינא לא ימות.	and die not *the second death.*

TJII in the Paris MSS 110, edited by M. GINSBURGER, has [85] — (italics as above):

יחי ראובן בעלמא הדין	Let Reuben live *in this world*
ולא ימות במותא תנינא	and die not *in the second death*
דבה מותא מיתין רשיעיא	*in which death the wicked die*
לעלמא דאתי.	*in the world to come.*

N and the text of TJII found in WALTON are identical with that of Paris 110 and of the Leipzig MS No 1, collated by M. GINSBURGER [86] except that for מותא they read מותנא. The usual meaning of מותנא is "plague". The context of Dt 33,6 requires that we understand the expression as "second death"; "the second plague" or "pestilence" is clearly excluded. We may correct the texts of TJII, WALTON and N to that of Paris 110 and Cod. Lips I or, better still, retain the text they offer and understand מותנא as "malignant death", a meaning given to the word by J. LEVY [87].

TJI has the same text as Paris 110 but omits the word "second" found in all other targumic paraphrases of Dt 33,6. The omission may be due to a scribal error, or may have never existed in TJI, being understood from the context.

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[84] Aramaic text in A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic, I. The Pentateuch according to the Targum of Onkelos*, Leiden 1959, p. 350.

[85] *Das Fragmententhargum...* p. 68.

[86] Cf. *ibid.* p. 89.

[87] Cf. *WT* and *WTM* s. v. מותנא. Ngl Dt 33,6 corrects the text to ויה[במות].

The death which the unjust die in the world to come is the punishment of Gehenna. The meaning of "the second death" of this paraphrase of Dt 33,6 is then the same as that which we find in the Apocalypse.

4. *Tg Is 22,14*: The HT of Is 22,14 is an oracle against the Epicurean-minded Jews whose motto is: "let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die" (Is 22,13). The HT continues:

> The Lord of hosts has revealed himself to my ears: "Surely this iniquity shall not be forgiven you till you die" says the Lord God of hosts.

The Targumist in his paraphrase takes this death to mean the second one. The Tg to Is 22,14 runs ([88]) — (italics as before):

> The prophet said: "With my ears was I hearkening when this was decreed before the Lord of Hosts; 'This sin shall not be forgiven you till you die *the second death* (עד דתמותון מותא תנינא) says the Lord of hosts.

Our two final texts come from Is ch. 65. In the biblical text God complains that he has held out his hands towards his unbelieving people who have refused to listen to him. Instead they have provoked him to anger by immoral and idolatrous behaviour. Their evil ways shall bring divine chastisement (65,1-7). Because of the faithful remnant, Israel shall not be destroyed. This remnant shall possess abundance in the land of Israel and prosper while the impious suffer (8-16). The text goes on the describe this new age God has in store for his holy city and for his people in the terms of a new creation of Jerusalem and of the heavens and earth (17-25).

5. *Tg Is 65,6*: In the HT God is speaking of the manner in which he is to punish the immorality of the unfaithful Israelites.

> "These are a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all the day (65,5). Behold, it is written before me: 'I will not keep silent, but I will repay, yea, I will repay into their bosom' ".

([88]) For this, and the following texts of Tg Isaiah, see A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic III* and J. E. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah*. The Aramaic texts of both are identical. We follow the rendering of STENNING.

In the Tg this text is paraphrased as follows:

פורענותהון בגיהנם	65,5 "Their *punishment shall be in Gehenna*
דאשתא דלקא בה כל יומא	where the fire burns all the day.
הא כתיב קדמי	65,6 Behold it is written before me:
לא אתין להון ארכא בחייא	'I will not *give them respite during* (their) *life*
אלהין להון פורענות חוביהון	but will render them the punishment of their transgressions
ואמסר למותא תנינא	and *will deliver their body*
ית גויתהון.	*to the second death*'" (89)

From this text we clearly see that "the second death" of 65,6 is *Gehenna where the fire burns all the day* of 65,5. This text of the Tg to the Prophets is an exact parallel to Ap 20,14 and 21,8. Ap 21,8 speaks of "the *lake which burns with fire and brimstone*, which is *the second death*" and 20,14 says: "this is the *second death*, the *lake of fire*" into which Satan (20,10), the beast and the false prophet (19,20) as well as the wicked (20,15) are thrown.

6. *Tg Is 65,15*: We have seen how the concluding portion of Is ch. 65 describes what God has in store for the faithful of his people. The new heavens and earth and the new Jerusalem which he is about to create (17-22) is only for the faithful; the wicked shall first be destroyed. It is to these latter God speaks in 65,15.

> "You shall leave your name to my chosen for a curse, and the Lord God will slay you; but his servants he will call by a different name".

The Tg renders literally, apart from rendering "slay you" as "slay you with the second death". The entire paraphrase runs:

> And you shall leave your name for a curse to my chosen and the Lord God will slay you *with the second death* (וימיתנכון

(89) According to the general view of authors Tg Jonathan to the Prophets, although redacted in Babylonia, originated in Palestine. On the Palestinian Tg to the Prophets see below ch. VII, n. 67).

ויו אלהים מותא תנינא) but his servants, *the righteous*, he shall call by a different name.

It is not easy to say what precise meaning we are to give to "the second death" in this context. It may mean that the impious are excluded from the resurrection and the enjoyment of life in the new creation God is about to bring about. It could also mean eternal damnation, as this too implies exclusion from the life of bliss which is promised in the context.

Is 65 is referred to a number of times in the NT. Paul cites vv. 1 f. as the complement from the Prophets to his texts from the Torah (Dt 32,21) when he shows that Israel's blindness and culpability in not receiving the Gospel were foreshadowed or predicted in the OT (Rm 10,20 f.).

When Ap 2,17 (cf. 3,12) says Christ is to give a new name to his faithful ones he probably refers to Is 65,15. He is certainly referring to Is 65,17.19 when he speaks of the creation of the new heavens and the new earth and the new Jerusalem in Ap 21.1.4. In Ap 20,14 - 21,4 John is thinking against the background of Is 65,15 ff. It appears from this that in 20,14 has passed from the biblical text of Is 65,15 to the manner in which this was understood in the liturgical paraphrase which we still find in the Targum to this verse. This would indicate that in this section of the Targum, and probably in the others which we have considered, we are in the presence of pre-Christian paraphrases which have influenced the thought and terminology of the Apocalypse.

That the author of the Apocalypse should draw heavily on a liturgical paraphrase is but natural. The liturgical colouring of this work is very pronounced. E. STAUFFER writes of John's relation to priestly tradition:

> Nowhere in rabbinic literature or in pre-Christian hellenism is there a writing or a tradition which can exhibit anything like the same wealth of Johannine parallels. That fixes the place of John in the history of religion. He belongs to the priestly tradition. The Baptist's disciple John is an apocalyptist cast in a levitical-liturgical mould just as Gamaliel's disciple Paul is an apocalyptist cast in a rabbinic-dialectical mould (90).
>
> It is not to no purpose that it [the Apocalypse] contains more

(90) *New Testament Theology*, Eng. trans. by John MARSH, London (SCM Press) 1963, pp. 41 f.

hymns than any other book in the NT, while its framework and its formal language are unmistakably liturgical in character ([91]).

([91]) *Ibid.* p. 41. See also T. F. TORRANCE, "Liturgie et Apocalypse", *Ver-Caro* 11 (1957) 28-40; G. DELLING, "Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannes-Apokalypse", *NT* 3 (1959) 107-37; S. LÄUCHLI, "Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannes-Offenbarung" *TZ* 16 (1960) 359-78. P. PRIGENT's monograph, *Apocalypse et Liturgie* (Cahiers Théologiques 52), Neuchâtel, November 1964, examines the Letters to the Seven Churches and Ap 4 - 5 and believes that they are heavily influenced by the liturgy of the early Church, by the Eucharistic and Paschal liturgies in particular. This, in his view, invites us to consider the entire book of the Apocalypse from the liturgical rather than from the apocalyptic point of view (cf. *o. c.*, p. 78 etc.) The author does not consider the evidence of the PT but his conclusions agree with what we will have to say in ch. VII when we compare several texts of the Ap with the Tgs, and with the PT in particular. The influence of the Jewish liturgy on the author of the Ap is much more pronounced than PRIGENT is inclined to admit (cf. e. g. *o. c.*, pp. 78 f.). We regret that his fine study appeared too late to be used in the composition of this dissertation.

Chapter V

SOME EXAMPLES OF DOCTRINAL AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TARGUMS AND THE GOSPELS

In the present chapter we will take a different approach to the PT, considering merely several texts in which its language and teaching appear to shed some light on certain texts of the Gospels. The Aramaic colouring of the Gospels has been the subject of many studies already. Into this question we do not intend to enter here. Instead we take several Gospel texts which are related to passages of the PT and which argue an early date for these latter. Our study shall take us into the consideration of a text from O which appears to retain an old Palestinian understanding of Gn 9,6. Having seen the points of contact between the Gospels and the PT in a few texts we will go on to consider the possible contribution the variant recensions of the PT may have to make to the Synoptic Problem. The present chapter takes examples from both the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel.

I. "You have heard that it was said . . . " Mt 5,21 and Tgs Gn 9,6 [1]

In Matthew's account of the Sermon on the Mount Our Lord says five times to his listeners: "You have *heard* that it was said (to the men of old)... " (Mt 5,21.27.33.38.43). In these passages Christ contrasts the interpretation of the Old Law current in Judaism with the perfection which he had come to teach. Of the five OT passages thus introduced two (5,27.38) cite the OT verbally; one (5,33) has a conflate text hard to identify. Two give commands from the OT (5,21.43) which are accompanied by additions not found in the OT texts.

It is quite possible that these latter texts, as they now stand, are the work of Matthew or of the tradition on which he depends and are

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[1] Cf. Str.-B., I, pp. 254-75, to Mt 5,21; G. Dalman, *Worte Jesu* I, p. 343; *id.*, *Jesus-Jeschua*, Leipzig 1922, pp. 65-68.

intended to put the contrast between the Old and the New Law in high relief. It is also possible that the texts really represent the manner in which the OT was interpreted to Christ's hearers in the synagogue. Only a study of the texts in relation to NT Judaism will solve the problem.

The OT texts to which Mt 5,43 ("You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy") refer are hard to identify. It may be merely a formulation of the manner in which certain sections of Judaism understood Lv 19,18 (2). The Tgs to Gn 9,6 may help us identify Mt 5,21 where Christ tells his audience:

> "You have heard that it was said to the men of old: 'You shall not kill, and whosoever kills shall be liable to the judgement'"; (*οὐ φονεύσεις, ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει*).

The first part of Christ's words is a direct citation from Ex 20,13 = Dt 5,18. The second part contains the sanction for those who violate the commandment. The most natural explanation of the words of Christ is that he is citing the commandment as his hearers heard it in the synagogues, where both command and sanction would then have been combined.

The sanction which he refers to cannot be identified as such in any OT text. In general authors refer to Ex 21,12; Lv 24,17.21; Nm 35,16 ff. where the sanctions are laid down for the crime of murder (3). No mention is made in any of these texts of the judgement mentioned in the NT citation. It seems, then, that we have here a reference to the current

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(2) W. D. DAVIES, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 235-38 (for relation with the Dead Sea Sect). Some modern writers believe that in Mt 5,43-48 Christ is referring to the Dead Sea Sect; cf. W. D. DAVIES, *ibid.*; M. SMITH, ("Matt. v. 43: 'Hate thine Enemy'", *HTR* 45 [1952] 72) thinks the text may have been drawn from a Targum. D. DAUBE (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1956, pp. 55-62, esp. 55 f.) believes that, in view of rabbinic usage (*shome'a 'ani*, "I hear", "I understand", or rather, "I might understand") there is good reason for translating the first part of the Matthean form by: "Ye have literally understood", or "Ye might understand literally". The formula may then introduce not a biblical citation, but rather a false, narrow, understanding of it (p. 66).

(3) Cf. e. g. M. J. LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon saint Matthieu* (Études Bibliques), 2nd ed., Paris 1923, p. 97 and commentators in general. Th. ZAHN, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (KNT), 2nd. ed., Leipzig 1905, p. 221 refers to Gn 9,6 among other texts.

Jewish paraphrasis of some OT text on the sanction attached to the crime of murder rather than to any OT text in particular. The unlearned audience of Christ would have listened to such a paraphrase in the school or synagogue; hence Our Lord's words: "You have *heard* that it was said...".

If we could determine some targumic paraphrase that agrees with Mt 5,21 we may be able to identify a targumic citation in the NT. If we turn to the targumic paraphrases of Ex 21,12; Lv 24,17.21; Nm 35,16 ff. we find that the Tgs scarcely go beyond the HT(4). The matter is different when we examine the Tgs to Gn 9,6. The biblical text says:

> "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; for God made man in his own image".

One would expect that the rabbis would see here the sanction to the crime of murder rather than in the other texts we have already mentioned. After all, Gn 9,6 gives us the reason for the malice of murder. Now, according to STRACK - BILLERBECK (5), Jewish Law on murder did not develop this text, but rather saw in it a reference to the malice of the murder of the Noachites, i. e. the non-Jews. Jewish law proper on murder was built on Ex 21,12; Lv 24,17 and Nm 35,16 ff., and in contradistinction to Gn 9,6, according to the same authors.

This point can be seriously doubted as far as NT Judaism is concerned. The authors cited by Str.-B. (6) in illustration of the last part of their contention are all from a later period; R. Ḥanina, c. 225 A. D. (*Gen. R.* 34, 21 b); R. Jacob ben Aḥa, c. 350 A. D. (*Sanh* 57 b). In

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(4) TJI to Ex 21,12 says the murderer is to be put to death *by the sword.* The PT on the Decalogue gives a motive for the observance of each of the commandments. That for Ex 20,13 is:

> "My people, children of Israel, you shall not be murderers; you shall not be companions of or partakers with murderers; in the congregation of Israel there shall not be seen a murderous people; neither shall your sons rise up after you and teach one another to take part with murderers; for on account of the guilt of murder the sword cometh forth upon the world".

Eng. trans. by J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.* I, p. 512, and cp. *Aboth* 5,8. For a possible bearing of this text on Rm 5,12 see J. R. DÍAZ, "Dos notas sobre el Targum palestinense", *Sefarad* 19 (1959) 1 f.

(5) I, p. 254.

(6) *Ibid.*

Mekilta, *Baḥodesh* 8, to Ex 20,13 we find the command "Thou shalt not kill" explained through Gn 9,6. The text runs (7):

> *Thou shalt not murder.* Why is this said? Because it says: *Whosoever sheds man's blood* etc. Gn 9,6. We have thus (i. e. in Gn 9,6) heard the penalty but have not heard the warning; therefore it says here: *Thou shalt not murder.*

It is quite clear that the penalty for murder is seen to exist in Gn 9,6 rather than in the other texts of the Pentateuch. This becomes all the clearer when we consider that in the context the Mekilta gives the punishments attached to the other commandments in the same language: "We have heard the penalty but have not heard the warning". In its commentary on Ex 20,17 it again cites Gn 9,6 to show that murder is comparable to destroying the image of the king, man being made in the image of God.

PHILO gives the same reason for the malice of murder in his commentary on this article of the Decalogue (*De Decalogo*, 132 ff.) (8).

> Let him, then, who slays another man know full well . . . that he is guilty of sacrilege, the robbery from its sanctuary of the most sacred of God's possessions... But man, the best of living creatures, through that higher part of his being, namely, the soul, is most nearly akin to heaven, the purest thing in all that exists, and, as most admit, also to the Father of the world, possessing in his mind a closer likeness and copy than anything else on earth of the eternal and blessed Archtype.

R. Akiba, too, refers to Gn 9,6 when he speaks of the malice of murder (9). It seems highly probable that Ex 20,13 was then connected with Gn 9,6 in NT Judaism and we can turn to the Tgs on this passage in our effort to elucidate Mt 5,21.

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(7) For the Heb. Text with English rendering cf. J. LAUTERBACH, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, Philadelphia 1949, vol. II, p. 260; German translation in J. WINTER - A. WÜNSCHE, *Der Mekilta*, Leipzig 1902, p. 219; Heb. text ed., H. S. HOROVITZ - I. A. RABIN, 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1960, p. 232.

(8) Tr. F. H. COLSON in the Loeb edition, Cambridge (USA)-London 1950, p. 73. For PHILO's relation to Jewish Halakah see R. RITTER, *Philo und die Halacha*, Leipzig 1879; G. ALLON, "Studies in the Halakah of Philo" (in Heb.), *Tarbiẓ* 5 (1933-34) 23-36; 241-46; 9 (1934-35) 30-37; 452-59, and, in particular, S. BELKIN, *Philo and the Oral Law. The Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to the Palestinian Halakah*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1940 (with bibliography).

(9) *Gen. R.* 34; the text is in Str.-B., I, p. 254.

We possess Tgs to Gn 9,6 in O, TJI, PTG (MS F) ([10]) and in N. Both PTG and N, with similar texts, render the NT faithfully. TJI and O, on the contrary, introduce a reference to "judgement" in their paraphrases. TJI renders ([11]) (italics denote additional paraphrase):

דיישוד דמא דאינשא	Who sheds the blood of man,
בסהדין דיניא מחוובון	*by witnesses the judges shall find him*
ליה קטול ודישוד	*guilty of murder. And he who sheds*
בלא סהדין מרי עלמא	*(blood) without witnesses, the Lord of*
עתיד לאתפרעא מניה	*the world will call him to account*
ליום דינא רבא ארום	*on the Day of Great Judgement*; because
בדיוקנא ([12]) דיי עבד ית אנשא.	in the image of the Lord he made man.

In this rendering of TJI we find a reference to an earthly and eschatological judgement introduced into the paraphrase. O has the same rendering as TJI, without, however, the reference to the eschatological judgement. O's texts is as follows ([13]) (italics as before):

דישוד דמא דאנשא	Who sheds the blood of man,
בסהדין על	*by witnesses, according to the*
מימר דיניא	*sentence of the judges,* shall his
דמיה יתשד ארי בצלמא	blood be shed; because in the image
דיי עבד ית אנשא.	of the Lord he made man.

The substance of the paraphrases of TJI and O is that the murderer is to be brought to judgement; in the words of Mt 5,21 "he is liable to the judgement". In NT Judaism, as we have said, the command "Thou shalt not kill" of Ex 20,13 was most probably connected with, and explained through, Gn 9,6. The Tgs of TJI and O paraphrase this latter verse in a manner substantially identical with that in which Ex 20,13 is para-

([10]) Text in *MdW*, p. 31.

([11]) Aramaic text in WALTON and M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan*..., p. 15.

([12]) According to JASTROW (*Dictionary s. v.*) דיוקנא is a reverential transmutation of איקונא J. JERVELL, however (*Imago Dei*... Göttingen 1960, p. 97, n. 101), following J. LEVY, thinks it represents the two Greek words *δύο εἰκών*.

([13]) We cite the text of WALTON; for a slightly different text and textual variants see A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic I*, p. 13. For our purpose the differences are immaterial. A Latin translation can be found in WALTON and an English one in ETHERIDGE, *o. c.*, p. 52.

phrased in Mt 5,21 b. In this NT verse we very probably have the form in which the command against murder was taught to the Jews in the synagogues which Christ's listeners frequented. Seeing that TJI and O to Gn 9,6 contain a paraphrase that appears presupposed in Mt 5,21b it would seem to follow that this is so because the Tgs retain a passage that was current in NT times. In this case we have another indication that O retains certain old sections that are representative of NT Palestinian Judaism. This is best explained by assuming, with the traditional view, that O is fundamentally a Palestinian and not a Babylonian product (14).

II. "Blessed is the Womb that Bore you ..." Lk 11,27 and PT Gn 49,25 (15)

The parallel from Tannaitic times which Str.-B. give to Lk 11,27: *μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας* is *Aboth* 2,8: "Blessed is she that bore you". The words were spoken by Johanan ben Zakkai (c. 80 A. D.) of R. Joshua ben Hananiah. Similar parallels were already noted by C. SCHOETTGEN: (16) "Beatus ego quod his e lumbis meis egressus est" (*PRE* c. 2): "Maledicta sunt ubera quae malum lactaverunt".

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(14) It is worthy of note that Mt 5,38 ("You have heard that it was said: 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'") cites Lv 24,20 literally. If this NT text implies a synagogal paraphrase (i. e. a Targum) it means that this was a literal rendering of the HT. According to Str.-B. I, p. 337 to Mt 5,38, it cannot be decided from rabbinic sources how this law was applied in Our Lord's day. The Mishnah and rabbinic sources know of but one interpretation of this OT law, viz. the *value* of an eye for an eye etc. In TJI alone do we find Lv 24,20 = Ex 22,24 paraphrased in accord with the rabbinic interpretation (דמי עינא חולף עינא, דמי שינא חולף שינא). O has a literal rendering: "eye instead of eye", etc.; so has N: עין תשלומי עין, "eye shall repay eye". This is one of the places where O does not "establish the correct Jewish understanding of every passage" as P. KAHLE holds it does (*Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 195). O here probably retains unchanged an old rendering which may have been current in 1st cent. Palestine. D. DAUBE (*o. c.* [note 1 above], pp. 254-65) believes "it is likely that, by the time of Jesus, retaliation in the case of damage to a person had been superseded by money penalties" (p. 255). The testimony of JOSEPHUS to the contrary (*JA* 4,8,35, § 280) must be ruled out (p. 256). Jesus, however, according to DAUBE, is referring to insult rather than to mutilation.

(15) Cf. C. SCHOETTGEN, *Horae*... p. 282 to Lk 11,27; WOLF, *Curae phil.* 3rd. ed., vol. I, p. 658; Str.-B. II, p. 187 f. (where Tg Gn 49,25 is referred to but not cited); M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach*, p. 244.

(16) *Horae, l. c.*

The words addressed to Christ in Lk 11,27 are actually found verbatim in PT Gn 49,25 as a paraphrase of "blessings of the breast and of the womb" of the biblical text. This PT rendering is conserved in TJI, TJII, N and, partly, in a citation in the *Aruk s. v.* רבע [17]. The text of N is as follows:

בריכין דדיא דינקת	Blessed are the breasts from
מנהון ומעיה	which you have sucked and the
דרבעת בגוויהון.	womb in which you lay (i. e. that bore, or "carried" you).

The texts of TJI and TJII are identical with N except that for בגוויהון, 'in the midst of which', they have בהון, 'in which', and that for דדיא they read the synonymous and more common תדיא. The same paraphrase of this verse is cited by R. Abba ben Zutra (c. 270 A. D.) in the name of R. Samuel. His words are found in *Gen. R.* 98 to Gn 49,25 which we cite. (His opening words are in Hebrew): "So much did Jacob love Rachel that even at the time (lit. 'the hour') he came to bless her son, the blessings of the breast and of the womb made him emotional". The text continues in Hebrew according to some MSS, but changes to Aramaic in Vat. Ebr. 30 [18] which we here follow (f. 192 a):

אתברכון תדייה	Blessed are the breasts that
דהכדן אייניקו ומעייה	suckled such a one and the womb
דהכדן אפיקו.	that gave such a one birth.

In this text of *Gen. R.* we have the same paraphrase of the PT cast into the third person as its context requires. The PT text is verbally identical with Lk 11,27 except that the blessing of the womb is put first in Luke. The saying may have been proverbial in the 1st century. Both the PT and Lk 11,27 would then be dependent on a common tradition. It is also very probable that the woman from the crowd who spoke those

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[17] This *Aruk* citation is not noted by M. GINSBURGER in his list of PT quotations from ancient authors (cf. *Das Fragmentententhargum*... pp. 91 ff.). All the Targumic citations that occur in the *Aruk* are listed by KOHUT, *Index ad citata biblica, targumica, talmudica et midraschica*, Vienna 1892; for the targumic citations see pp. 18 ff.

[18] On the especial value of this MS see P. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 205; A. DÍEZ MACHO, *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963) 116 f.

words of Christ's mother is merely citing a targumic paraphrase to Gn 49,25 which she had heard read in the synagogue. We shall later see [19] how the blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) contains certain very old material and that the entire paraphrase is probably pre-Christian, this section of the Torah being one that would have been read and paraphrased from the earliest period of the synagogue public Torah reading.

III. " Be you Merciful as your Father is Merciful "; Lk 6,36 (Mt 5,48) and TJI Lv 22,28 [20]

The text we are now about to consider takes us into the Synoptic Problem. It is the command Christ gave to his followers in the Sermon on the Mount to imitate the virtues of their father in heaven. The particular logion is conserved in varying forms in Mt 5,48 and in Lk 6,36. In the First Gospel it comes at the end of the passage where Christ contrasts the perfection of the New Law with that of the Law as known "to the men of old" and to the scribes and Pharisees. The *dictum* of Christ reads in Mt 5,48: *Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.*

Whereas Matthew insists on the justice and perfection required of Christ's followers, Luke brings out rather the mercy of Christ and of his teaching and places the logion at the beginning of a section on how Christians should pardon and avoid judging others [21]. His form of the logion is (Lk 6,36): *Γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.*

Certain traits of Lk 6,36 are certainly secondary in relation to that of Matthew, who, in these, preserves the original form of the words of Jesus [22]. *Γίνεσθε* is better taken as a change for the more Semitic

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[19] Below pp. 230-33.

[20] Cf. A. SCHLATTER, *Der Evangelist Matthäus, seine Sprache, sein Ziel, seine Selbständigkeit, ein Kommentar zum ersten Evangelium*, Stuttgart 1929, pp. 197 f.; G. DALMAN, *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipzig 1898, p. 52; A. DESCAMPS, *Les justes et la justice dans les évangiles et le christianisme primitif, hormis la doctrine proprement paulinienne* (Univ. cath. Lov., Diss. II, 43), pp. 197 f.; J. DUPONT, *Les Béatitudes. Le problème littéraire. Le message doctrinal*, Bruges 1954, p. 60, n. 1. 2nd ed., 'entièrement refondue', Bruges 1958, p. 153 f., n. 2; *id.*, " 'Soyez parfaits' (Mt. v. 48) 'Soyez miséricordieux' (Lc. vi, 36)", *Sacra Pagina* (Gembloux 1959), vol. II, pp. 150-162. W. D. DAVIES, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 235 ff.

[21] Cf. DUPONT, *o. c.* (1954); In M. J. LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon saint Luc*, Paris 1921, p. 197, it appears at the end of the preceding pericope, as in Matthew.

[22] Cf. J. DUPONT, *l. c.* (1954).

ἔσεσθε, the future in the sense of the imperative or optative etc. It appears that he has also suppressed *οὖν* and *οὐράνιος* found in Matthew. Authors are not agreed whether the primative form of the *logion* had *τέλειοι* of Mt or *οἰκτίρμονες* of Luke. J. WELLHAUSEN [23], G. DALMAN [24], A. LOISY [25] and others believe that *οἰκτίρμονες* is the primitive form, changed by Matthew; similarly A. HARNACK [26], who, however, takes it that the original form was *ἐλεήμονες* which Luke changed to *οἰκτίρμονες*. J. WEISS [27], M. LAGRANGE [28], J. DUPONT (in the first edition of *Les Béatitudes*) [29] and other exegetes hold that it is Luke who has changed the more primitive form found in Matthew.

TJI Lv 22,28 has a direct bearing on these texts as we find here the same *"logion"* as that of the NT. As we shall see, this text of TJI may also have a bearing on the Synoptic Problem. The text of TJI exists in different forms in the 1591 *editio princeps* of this Targum [30] and in the London MS which M. GINSBURGER has incorrectly edited in this passage [31]. The same targumic rendering, in the form found in the London MS, is twice cited for censure in the Jer. Talmud. We treat of these texts separately.

The HT text of Lv 22,27 f. has:

> "When a bull or a sheep or a goat is born, it shall remain seven days with its mother; and from the eighth day it shall

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[23] *Das Evangelium Matthaei*, Berlin 1904, p. 24.

[24] *Die Worte Jesu I*, p. 52.

[25] *Les évangiles synoptiques* I, Ceffonds 1907, p. 589.

[26] *Sprüche und Reden Jesu. Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas* (Beitr. zur Einleitung in das NT II), Leipzig 1907, p. 63.

[27] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart, erklärt*, vol. I, Göttingen 1906, pp. 261-414.

[28] *Évangile selon saint Matthieu* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1923, p. 118.

[29] *L. c.* (1954). In the second ed. of this work (p. 153, n. 2 and in *Sacra Pagina* [Gembloux 1959], vol. II, p. 155) J. DUPONT defends the anteriority of Luke as his form is attested in TJI Lv 22,28 (cf. M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospel and Acts*, Oxford 1954, pp. 138 f.) whereas 'perfect" is not found predicated of God in rabbinic writings.

[30] This was published by Asher FORINS from a MS that was in the possession of the Foa Family; cf. M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. III. The only MS of TJI now known to exist is that of the British Museum, badly edited by M. GINSBURGER and about to be re-edited by A. DÍEZ MACHO for the Madrid Polyglot; cf. ch. I, n. 147.

[31] The passage occurs *o. c.* p. 212.

be acceptable as an offering by fire to the Lord. (28) And whether the mother is a cow or a ewe, you shall not kill both her and her young in one day".

Both verses have long midrashic developments in TJI. The paraphrase to v. 27 connects the three animals with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and connects the reference to the sacrifice of the sheep with the "Binding of Isaac". TJII, N and PTG, MS F, carry the same paraphrase as TJI on this verse, though only TJI retains the paraphrase on v. 28. The Polyglot text of TJI Lv 22,28 is as follows: ([32]) (It is Moses who speaks):

עמי בני ישראל	**"My people, children of Israel,**
היכמה דאבונן רחמן בשמיא	**as our Father is merciful in heaven,**
כן תהוון רחמנין בארעא	**so shall you be merciful on earth;**
תורתא או רחלא יתה וית ברא	*cow or ewe, itself and its young,*
לא תיכסון בומא חד.	*you shall not kill in one day".*

For some unexplained reason, M. GINSBURGER reproduces this text in his edition of the London MS without so much as hinting at the fact that it is not in the London MS ([33]). The London MS (f. 130 b) has quite a different text and it is God who speaks there, unlike that of the Polyglot text. The London MS has:

עמי בני ישראל	**"My people, children of Israel,**
היכמא דאנא רחמן בשמיא	**As I am merciful in heaven,**
כן תהוון רחמנין בארעא	**so shall you be merciful on earth;**
תורתא או רחלא יתה וית ברא	*cow or ewe, itself and its young,*
לא תיכסון ביומא חד.	*you shall not kill in one day".*

As God speaks in the text preserved in the London MS of TJI no reference is made to "Our Father in heaven". Otherwise the two texts of TJI are identical. Comparing this with the NT texts we find that like Mt 5,48 it speaks of the "heavenly Father" and contains the command by the use of the future: תהוון; Mt: *ἔσεσθε*, whereas Luke omits *οὐράνιος* and for *ἔσεσθε* has *γίνεσθε*. On the other hand TJI is nearer to Luke

([32]) For a Latin version cf. WALTON; for an English one J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o.c.*

([33]) In a note to the verse GINSBURGER says that the MS has רחמין which he corrects to רהמן. The MS clearly reads רהמן.

in speaking of the obligation of imitating the mercy, rather than the perfection, of the Father in Heaven.

A. T. OLMSTEAD (34) thinks that in the *logion* under consideration Christ is actually citing the PT. From a comparison of Mt 5,48; Lk 6,36 and TJI Lv 22,28 he takes the original form of the words of Christ to have been: "Be you therefore merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful". This will account for the variants in Luke and Matthew, the latter having introduced the idea of perfection, in keeping with the general theme of his Gospel, in the context of 5,48. Luke has omitted "heavenly" in keeping with his general usage (35); cp. Lk 6,35 with Mt 5,45. Only once (11,13 *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*) does Luke use an expression corresponding to *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* found twelve times in Matthew (Mt 5,16.45; 6,1.9; 7,11.21; 10,32 f.; 12,50; 16,17; 18,10.19).

The paraphrase of TJI Lv 22,28 is certainly a very old one, and probably dates from NT times. It is cited for censure by R. Jose ben Bun (PA 5, c. 350 A. D.) in a text preserved in Jer. *Ber*, 5,3,9 c and Jer. *Meg*. 4,9, 75 c. The Mishnah to these passages ordains that a man is to be put to silence if found reciting prayers such as: "To a bird's nest do thy mercies extend (O Lord)"; cf. Dt 22,7. The reason given for this Mishnah text in the Palestinian Gemara is that this person "makes the ordinances of God to be simply acts of mercy, whereas they are injunctions". The discussion on the text preserves the view of R. Jose on a targumic rendering then current (36):

אמר ר' יוסי ב'ר'בון	Said R. Jose ben Bun:
לא עבדין טובות שעושין	"They do not well who make of the
למדותיו של ה'קבה	injunctions of the HOBbH(36a) (mere
רחמין ואלין	axioms of) mercy. And those who
דמתרגמין	translate (Lv 22,28 into Aramaic as):

(34) "Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?", *JNES* 1 (1942) 64; M. BLACK, *o. c.*, p. 139, thinks that the original words of Jesus were those of Matthew, whereas the text of Luke is dependent on the paraphrase found in TJI Lv 22,28.

(35) For the designation "Father in Heaven" cf. G. DALMAN, *Worte Jesu*, p. 163; Luke (6,35) speaks of "children of the Most High" where the parallel text of Mt 5,45 has "sons of their Father who is in heaven"; cf. also Lk 2,14 ("Glory to God in the Highest") and see J. JEREMIAS, "*Ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας*, Lc 2,14", *ZNW* 28 (1929) 13-20.

(36) For a French translation see M. SCHWAB, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, vol I, new ed., Paris 1890, p. 103.

(36a) "The Holy One, Blessed be He"; cf. note 27 to ch. IV.

עמי בני ישראל	**'My people, children of Israel,**
כמא דאנא רחמן בשמיא כך	**as I am merciful in heaven so**
תהוון רחמנין בארעא	**shall you be merciful on earth,**
תורתא או רחילה יתה וית ברה	*cow or ewe, itself and its young,*
לא תיכסון תרויהון	*you shall not kill* both of them
ביומא חד לא עבדין טבאות	*in one day'*; they do not well
שהן עושין מדותיו של	as they make the injunctions of the
ה'קבה רחמים.	HOBbH (to be mere axioms of) mercy".

This targumic rendering is identical with that found in the London MS of TJI, as we have seen, and is only slightly different from that of the Polyglots, which form can be presumed to be equally old. The rendering probably represents the PT current in Palestine in the fourth century. It must have come into being much earlier than this. In fact, there is no reason why it should not be older than the Mishnah rule, the spirit of which occasioned R. Jose's censure.

It may be argued that, as the paraphrase of TJI to Lv 22,28 is not found in TJII, PTG or N, this text does not really represent the PT. Now, it appears that all these other texts of the PT once carried the censured paraphrase which was omitted owing to the rabbinic censure. A study of these texts will be of interest to the history of the transmission of the PT and we undertake it here.

PTG, MS F, 10-11th century, TJII and N, as we have seen, have the same paraphrase to Lv 22,27 as that found in TJI. TJII has no Targum to Lv 22,28; PTG and N, however, have, and this paraphrase shows clear signs that their texts once carried the censured passage. PTG, MS F, is a collection of portions of the PT for the feast-days. Its text to Lv 22,28 reads ([37]):

עמי בני יש	"My people, children of Israel,
תורתא או רחלא יתה וית ברה	*a cow or ewe, itself and its young,*
לא תכס[ון ביומה חד].	*you shall not ki[ll in one day]*".

The paraphrase is that of TJI and differs from O which renders the HT with different Aramaic words, reading: תורתא או שיתא לה ולברה לא תכסון ביומא חד. "My people, children of Israel" is found in PTG as in

([37]) In *MdW*, p. 50.

TJI. This is a liturgical formula (38) and shows that the rendering was connected with the synagogue. In the PT it is used to introduce exhortations and midrashic paraphrases of a hortatory kind. It is quite pointless before a literal rendering as PTG, MS F, to Lv 22,28 now is. The explanation of this appears to be that the censured passage has been omitted in this representative of the PT while the liturgical formula that introduced it has been retained.

The same is true of N whose text is the same as PTG, MS F, apart from the fact that the scribe of N (39) has omitted יתה ויה ברה though they are added in the margin. He has likewise omitted entirely the final words ביומא חד and runs the paraphrase of v. 28 into the following, the first three words of which he omits. His text is as follows: עמי בני ישראל תורתא או רחילא [ידה (!) ויה ברה] לא תכסון / נכסת אוריה....

All this shows us that TJI has retained sections of the early PT omitted in the other recensions of this paraphrase. The point has been dealt with already. It shows us that we should not expect to find the original PT in any of the texts that now lie before us, not even in N (40). After all, these PT texts have been transmitted to us by rabbinic Judaism and it was almost inevitable that certain sections of them should have been affected in the course of transmission. although this rabbinic recension was much less severe than was the case with O or the other targumic texts transmitted by Babylonian Judaism. TJI, as we have mentioned, had some different history of transmission and is then of greater value, at times, than any of the other PT texts when we come to determine the liturgical paraphrase of NT times.

IV. "With what Measure you Mete it Shall be Measured to you..." Mt 7,2; Mk 4,24; Lk 6,38 and PT Gn 38,26 (41)

We have seen how Luke's use of the *logion* which we have studied in the preceding article introduces his collection of Christ's sayings on mercy. His text continues:

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(38) Cf. E. ELBOGEN, *JG*², pp. 88.192; The PT paraphrase to the Decalogue is introduced by this expression; cf. n. 4 above; for other examples see PT Ex 23,2; 34,20.26; 35,5; Lv 19,6; Nm 28,2; Dt 25,4.18 f.; 28,6.12 etc.

(39) In f. 243 b.

(40) Cf. above pp. 82 f.

(41) Cf. C. SCHOETTGEN, *Horae*... p. 72 to Mt 7,2; WOLF, *Curae phil*.... p. 146; Str.-B. I, pp. 444 f.

> (6,37) "Judge not, and you will not be judged; condemn not and you will not be condemned; forgive and you will be forgiven; (38) give and it will be given to you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together running over, will be put into your lap. For with what measure you measure, it will be measured to you in return"; *ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

The final phrase is found in a slightly different context in Matthew, but still in the section on the Sermon on the Mount as in Luke. Mt 7,1 f. runs:

> "Judge not that you be not judged. (2) For with the judgement you pronounce you will be judged and in which measure you measure it will be measured to you"; *ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

The setting in which we find the logion in Mk 4,24 is different from that of Matthew and Luke. His text has:

> (4,21) And he said to them: "Is a lamp brought in to be put under a bushel, or under a bed, and not on a stand? (22) For there is nothing hid, except to be made manifest; nor is anything secret, except to come to light. (23) If any man has ears to hear, let him hear". (24) And he said to them: "Take heed what you hear; with what measure you mete, it will be measured to you (*ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν*), and still more will be given to you".

We find the logion "With what measure you measure it will be measured to you" identical in form in Matthew and Mark and in a slightly different one in Luke. The point to be noted for our purpose is the passive (*μετρηθήσεται*; Lk, *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται*), used by all three Evangelists.

Turning to Jewish sources for a parallel for this we find that it is a commonly used axiom of divine retribution. The form of the axiom in rabbinic sources, and that given by A. SCHLATTER [42] and STRACK-BILLERBECK [43] is במדה שאדם מדד בה מודדין לו, "with what measure a man measures, in that same they (i. e. God) measure to him", i. e. the impersonal plural is used where the NT has the passive. This point is

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[42] *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 241.

[43] *O. c.*, p. 444.

noted by Str.-B (44) who say that the same impersonal form is that found in TJII Gn 38,26 which they cite as follows:

במכילתא דאינש מכייל "With what measure a man measures
בארעא בה מכיילין on earth, in that same *they measure*
ליה בשמיא בין to him in heaven, whether it be
מיכלא טבא ובין מיכלא בישא. good measure or bad measure".

This is the text of TJII Gn 38,26, as published by M. GINSBURGER from the Paris MS 110 (45). It is unfortunate that this text should have been chosen, seeing that this particular MS is not the most faithful representative of TJII, and particularly when the passage of the PT is also found in TJII, Polyglots, in PTG, MS D (c. 850 A. D.) (46), in citations from the *Aruk* and from ELIAS LEVITA noted by M. GINSBURGER (47) in his edition of the Paris MS and, we may now add, in N. The form of the axiom given in these PT texts is: "In what measure a man measures, in that same *it is measured* (מיתכל) to him, whether it be good measure or bad measure". This is the exact form, with the passive rather than the impersonal plural, which we find in the NT. This formula of the PT texts, other than Paris 110, is of general application and refers to divine retribution on earth as well as in heaven.

This close point of contact of the language of the PT with that of the NT, though a minor one, shows how intimately the language of both these writings can be related. The contact is all the more important in that this PT paraphrase to Gn 38,25-26 appears to be an old pre-Christian midrash. R. BLOCH (48) has made a study of it and has given reasons indicating that it is the messianism inherent in the paraphrase that explains the inclusion of Tamar in the genealogy of Christ in Mt 1,3. The language and doctrine of this PT paraphrase is so similar to portions of the NT that it merits citation at length. We give the text of TJII (49), Polyglots. That of N and PTG, MS D, is practically the same. PTG, MS E, has essentially the same paraphrase but is much less extensive

(44) *Ibid.*, p. 445.
(45) P. 20.
(46) Cf. *MdW.* p. 2*.
(47) *Ibid.*, p. 100.
(48) " 'Juda engendra Pharès et Zara de Thamar'; *Matth.*, I,3" in *Mélanges Robert*, Paris (1957), pp. 381-89.
(49) For a Latin version see WALTON; for an English one cf. J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.* I, p. 293.

to v. 26. TJI has virtually identical paraphrase but omits the axiom we have considered.

> Tamar was brought forth to be burned by fire, and she sought the three witnesses, but did not find them. She lifted up her eyes on high and said: "I pray for mercy before Thee, O Lord. Thou art he, O Lord, who answers the afflicted in the hour of their affliction; answer me in this hour of my affliction, and I will dedicate to thee three just ones in the valley of Dura, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah" (cf. Dn 3).
>
> In that hour the Memra of the Lord heard the voice of her supplication and said to Michael: "Descend and give them to her; let her eye be enlightened". When she saw them she took them and cast them before the feet of the judges, saying: "By the man to whom these belong, I am with child. But though I am to be burned, I will not expose him, but confide in the Ruler of all worlds, the Lord who is witness between me and him, that he shall give to the heart of the man to whom these belong to acknowledge to whom this ring, mantle and staff belong".
>
> And Judah recognized the three witnesses, and rose to his feet and said: "I pray you, my brethern, and you men of my father's house to hear me! With what measure a man measures, in that same will it be measured to him (במכילא דאינש מכיל בה מתכיל ליה), whether good measure or bad; and blessed is every man who confesses his deeds (PTG, MS D: "blessed is every man whose deed they [God] reveal"). Because I took the coat of Joseph my brother and dipped it into the blood of a goat, and brought it to the feet of my father and said to him: 'See now whether this is your son's coat or not', the measure is according to the measure; the rule according to the rule. Better is it for me to blush in this world, than to blush in the world to come; better is it for me to burn in a fire that extinguishes than to burn in extinguishable fire (lit. 'by fire devouring fire'). Tamar, my daughter-in-law, is innocent in judgement. She has not conceived a child by fornication, but because I did not give her to my son Shela".
>
> A Bath Qol came from heaven and said: "Both of you are acquitted in the judgement ([50]). The matter was from the Lord". *And he knew her no more.*

([50]) This PT paraphrase is recalled in PT Gn 49,9 and seems presupposed in O to the same verse; an indication of O's original connection with the PT.

The relation of this PT text with Mt 7,1 f., Mk 4,24 and Lk 6,38 is not merely in the axiom of retribution found in both, nor even in the close linguistic parallel between the PT and the NT in the form of this same axiom. The contexts in which both are found are similar. We may compare TJII where Judah's deed has been revealed and his comment: "With what measure a man measures, in that same is it measured to him", with Mk 4,22-24: "For there is nothing hid that shall not be made manifest; nor is anything secret except to come to light... take heed what you hear; in what measure you measure it shall be measured to you, and still more will be given to you".

Mark, as we have noted above, gives this axiom on retribution in a context differing from Luke. Luke, too, combines two themes found in the PT Gn 38,25 f.; those of judgement, forgiveness and retribution. "Judge not and you shall not be judged; condemn not and you shall not be condemned; forgive and you shall be forgiven; give and it shall be given to you; good measure, pressed down... For with what measure you measure, it shall be measured to you in return" (Lk 6,37 f.).

This coincidence justifies one inquiring whether the liturgical paraphrase of first century Palestine has played any part in the formation of the tradition that lies behind the Synoptic Gospels. The matter cannot be dealt with here but some consideration of the possible bearing of the PT on the Synoptic Problem merits a summary consideration.

V. The Synoptic Problem and the Palestinian Targum [51]

G. HERDER [52] believed that the Synoptic Problem could be solved only on the assumption that all three of the Synoptic Gospels depend on an

[51] Cf. C. C. TORREY, *The Four Gospels. A New Translation.* New York, 1933; J. A. MONTGOMERY, "Torrey's Aramaic Gospels", *JBL* 53 (1934) 77-99; D. W. RIDDLE, " The Aramaic Gospels and the Synoptic Problem", *JBL* 54 (1935) 127-38; W. R. TAYLOR, "Aramaic Gospel Sources and Form Criticism", *ET* 49 (1937-38) 55-59; M. BLACK, " The Problem of the Aramaic Element in the Gospels" (Unsolved New Testament Problems), *ET* 59 (1947-48) 171-76; A. T. OLMSTEAD, "Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?", *JNES* 1 (1942) 41-75 (with literature; cf. esp. p. 44, n. 7); J. W. DOEVE, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Assen 1954; cf. esp. ch. IV ("Jewish Interpretation of Scripture and in the New Testament", pp. 91-118) and ch. VII ("The Examination of Scripture and the Fixation of Traditional Material", pp. 77-205); X. LÉON-DUFOUR, "Le fait synoptique" in *Introduction à la Bible II*, ed. by A. ROBERT and A. FEUILLET, Paris 1959, pp. 260-320 (with literature).

[52] Cf. general introductions to the Synoptic problem.

oral Gospel. J. C. L. GIESLER [53], the real founder of the "oral tradition" school on the origin of the Synoptic Gospels, explains all the differences between them through the manner in which the Gospel message had become stereotyped at the time they were composed. He excludes all literary dependence of any of the three on the others.

Later writers have studied the Aramaic colouring and background of our Synoptic Gospels with good results. Some have even put forward the view that our Synoptic Gospels are actually translated directly from Aramaic. This latter view has not won acceptance. Aileen GUILDING [54] has taken a somewhat similar approach to the Gospel of John, putting forward the view that it is composed in accord with the triennial cycle of Scripture reading in the synagogues of Palestine. J. W. DOEVE [55] has propounded the thesis that the Gospel tradition was actually given shape as *midrashim*, i. e. the first Christians recalled the words and works of Jesus as certain sections of the OT were being read. Thus, the interrogation of Jesus before the Sanhedrin was brought to mind and recounted when Jer 26,5 was being read; the first collection of controversies of the Synoptics is arranged in dependence on Is 17,13b - 59,3; the material of the Sermon on the Mount was collected and redacted as a Christian midrash (i. e. explanation) of Ex 20,13-16; Lv 19,15-18 and Lv 23 - 24. None of these two last views has imposed itself. That of A. GUILDING appears to be based on the assumption that the three-year cycle was current in Palestine in the time of Christ; a somewhat debatable point [56]. The view of J. W. DOEVE seems to overtax the imagination [57].

It is curious that practically no attention, as far as the present writer can ascertain, has been given to the PT in the discussion of the Synoptic Problem [57a]. Yet, it appears that the PT may have some contribution to the point. First of all, the various traditions in the PT present a Synoptic Problem for students, and, we may add, a Synoptic Problem

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[53] *Historisch-kritiker Versuch über die Enstehung und die frühern Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*, Leipzig 1818.

[54] *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship*. Oxford 1960.

[55] *Jewish Hermeneutics*..., esp. ch. IV and ch. VII.

[56] See note 13 to chapter II.

[57] Cf. X. LÉON-DUFOUR, *a. c.*, p. 274.

[57a] E. A. ABBOTT (*Notes on New Testament Criticism*, London 1907, pp. XII-XX) senses their importance for the Synoptic Problem and dedicates his work "To the Targumists much neglected by most students of the Scriptures yet for those who desire to trace the growth of tradition and to distinguish fact from non-fact uniquely valuable".

that parallels that of the NT. Then again, the Gospel tradition was formed within a milieu in which this Targum was most probably in use in its varying forms. It may be that this has unconsciously, if not consciously, affected the formation of the Gospel tradition.

Scarcely any attention has been devoted to this Synoptic Problem of the PT [58], which, like its NT counterpart, consists in the presentation of substantially the same tradition in varying forms. It has been noted that scarcely any two texts of the PT MSS present altogether identical readings [58]. This is because, unlike O, the PT has never been subjected to editorial activity that would have reduced its variety to a unity. In the PT we still can see the diversity that marks living tradition. The central paraphrase in all texts is, however, generally the same. The diversities can be classed as follows [60]:

1. *The same paraphrase in lesser or greater detail*: Some texts of the PT are more paraphrastic than others, while all may still retain the same essential midrash. As an example we may cite PT Gn 4,7-9 where the brief paraphrase of PTG, MS B, appears in a much longer form in the other PT texts. PTG, MS D, to Gn 38,26 is likewise more paraphrastic than PTG, MS E, and the other PT texts.

2. *Fixed paraphrase, different order*: Under this heading we may note how Judah's words: "With what measure a man measures..." (PT Gn 38,26) cited above, appear in TJII as the opening of his discourse, whereas in N they come after his reference to extinguishable and inextinguishable fire.

3. *Same concept expressed in different terms*: We shall see later [60a] how TJI Gn 49,11 expresses "a presser of grapes" by the Aramaic words

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[58] Two detailed studies of the PT texts of Gn 4,3-16 have been made; cf. P. GRELOT, "Les Targums du Pentateuque. Étude comparative d'après Genèse, IV, 3-16", *Semitica* 9 (1959) 59-88; G. VERMES, "The Targumic versions of Genesis 4,3-16", *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, 3 (1960-1962), Leiden 1963, pp. 107-11. E. A. ABBOTT (*o. c.*, pp. 24-32: "Targumistic Translations") uses them in connection with the variants to be found in the NT Synoptic Problem and discusses some divergences between the Tgs to the Pentateuch, passages from which he prints in parallel columns. The reader can now confer R. LE DÉAUT, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament*, Rome 1965, pp. 70 f.

[59] Cf. P. KAHLE, *MdW*, pp. *4 f.; M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach*, 2nd. ed., p. 19.

[60] For similar examples in the Synoptic Gospels cf. *inter alios*, LÉON-DUFOUR, *a. c.*, pp. 260 ff.

[60a] See below pp. 243 f. and examples from PT Gn 49,12 on p. 232.

עצור דענבין where in N and TJII we read רפוס ענבין. We find a similar case in PT Gn 49,18 where TJI says Jacob looked forward and yearned (מודיק , מסכי) for God's future redemption whereas TJII and N say that he simply looked forward (סיכית) to this same. As a parallel to this from the NT we may cite Christ's words which according to Mt 13,16 f. say that many prophets and righteous men desired (*ἐπεθύμησαν*) to see the days of the Messiah, whereas Lk 10,23 f. says that many prophets and kings wanted (*ἠθέλησαν*) to see this same day.

Many more examples could be adduced to illustrate the points of the PT Synoptic Problem indicated above. The bearing of the question with the NT is obvious. It is impossible to discuss the matter more at length in the present context. Our sole purpose in treating of it in this summary fashion here is to indicate that this Synoptic Problem merits special study in its own right and for the contribution it may possibly make to NT exegesis. Both these aspects of the question still remain to be studied.

VI. "To be Lifted up" = "To Die"; Jn 12,32.34 and the PT [61]

The Fourth Gospel speaks three times of the "Exaltation" of Christ, and the concept, as so often in this Gospel, has more than one level of meanings. On each occasion the expression is connected with the "Son

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[61] For the occurrences and meaning of סלק cf. BUXTORF, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*, ed. Basle 1640, coll. 1490-92; ed. FISCHER, Leipzig 1875, pp. 747 f.; J. LEVY, *WT* pp. 167 f.; *id. WTM*, pp. 536 ff.; M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, New York 1950, p. 997.

For studies on this particular problem see: E. A. ABBOTT, *From Letter to Spirit* (= Diatesserica, part III), London 1903, n. 3 to [1003 *c*], p. 360; C. LATTEY, "Le verbe *ὑψοῦν* dans saint Jean", *RSR* 3 (1912) 597 f.; *id.* "The Semitisms of the Fourth Gospel", *JTS* 20 (1918-19) 330-36, esp. p. 335; F. C. BURKITT, "On 'Lifting up' and 'Exalting' ", *JTS, an. c.*, pp. 336-38; C. LATTEY, "Lifting up in the Fourth Gospel", *ibid.*, 21 (1919) 175; C. C. TORREY, " 'When I am lifted up from the Earth' John 12,32", *JBL* 51 (1932) 320-22; G. KITTEL, " אזדקף = *ὑψωθῆναι* = Gekreuzigtwerden. Zur angeblichen antiochenischen Herkunft des vierten Evangelium", *ZNW* 35 (1936) 282-85; J. BONSIRVEN, "Les aramaïsmes de s. Jean l'évangéliste?", *Bib* 30 (1949) 405-32, esp. 430.

For the theme of the Exaltation of Christ in the Fourth Gospel see the bibliography in W. THÜSING, *Die Erhöhung und Verherrlichung Jesu im Johannesevangelium* (= Neut. Abhänglungen. XXI Band, 1/2 Heft), Münster i. W. 1960; D. MOLLAT, *Introductio in exegesim scriptorum Sancti Joannis*, ed. altera, Rome 1962, pp. 191-94.

For the questions connected with the Aramaic origin of the Fourth Gospel see the works noted by J. H. SCAMMON, "Studies in the Fourth Gospel, 1931-1940",

of Man". The first occurrence is Jn 3,14 where Christ says: "As Moses lifted up (ὕψωσεν) the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (ὑψωθῆναι). In 8,28 Our Lord says to the Jews: "When you have lifted up (ὑψώσητε) the Son of Man, then you will know that I am he...".

In both these cases Christ refers to his death by Crucifixion. John himself makes this clear in the next text we are to examine, viz. Jn 12,32-34:

> And I, when I am lifted up from the earth (κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς), will draw all men to myself. (33) He said this to show by what death he was to die. (34) The crowd answered him: "We have heard from the Law that the Christ remains (μένει) for ever. How can you say that the Son of Man must be lifted up? (ὑψωθῆναι). Who is this Son of Man?"

The Exaltation, or 'lifting up" of the Son of Man is intended by John to imply the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, his definitive glorification into which he entered by his death on the Cross. The Greek word ὑψοῦν is a rather unusual one for crucifixion: it may be that John has chosen it on purpose, rather than taken it as rendering some Aramaic term employed by Christ. If we take it that Jn 12,32.34 really represents a debate between Christ and the Jews it is necessary to find an Aramaic term that can be taken to mean "lifting up" and "crucifixion", or at least "death". Either of these two latter meanings will satisfy Jn 12,32.34 as John's explanation in 12,33 really refers to the manner of Christ's death, *post factum*; it is not necessary that the words of Christ should have referred to the precise manner of his death.

The precise Aramaic term that lies behind Jn 12,32.34 has interested critics for some decades past. In 1912 C. LATTEY ([62]) put forward the view that the Semitic word behind ὑψωθῆναι of Jn 12,32.34 was the

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AnglTheolRev 23 (1941) 103-17; P. H. MENOUD, *L'Evangile de Jean d'après les recherches récentes* (Cahiers théol. 3), Neuchatel-Paris, 2nd ed., 1947, pp. 26 f.; J. BEHM in *TLZ* 73 (1948), 26-30; W. F. HOWARD - C. K. BARRETT, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, new ed., London 1945, pp. 55 ff.; P. H. MENOUD in *L'Évangile de Jean* (Recherches Bibliques III), Desclée de Brouwer 1958, p. 22; M. E. BOISMARD, *ibid.*, p. 41, n. 1 f.; F. M. BRAUN in *ETL* 32 (1956) 535-56; E. HAENCHEN, *ThRu* 23 (1955) 295-335 (published in 1957); D. MOLLAT, *Introductio in esegesim... S. Joannis*, pp. 6-10; S. BROWN, "From Burney to Black: The Fourth Gospel and the Aramaic Question", *CBQ* 26 (1964) 326-39.

([62]) In *RSR* 3 (1912) 597 f.

verb זקף, which in both Hebrew and Aramaic he takes to mean "to raise up", and to have been used to imply impalement or crucifixion. This article was written in *Recherches des sciences religieuses*. In *The Journal of Theological Studies* for 1918-19 he propounded the same view for the benefit of English-speaking readers (63). This article was followed by another from the pen of F. C. BURKITT (64) which raised objections to this very view as it had been put forward by E. A. ABBOTT (65). The point of his note was, as he himself puts it, "to show that the 'lifting up' implied in זקף and its derivatives is of the nature of 'fixing', 'hanging', 'staking' or 'straightening', hardly ever of 'raising to a higher level' ". It would not then be a suitable Semitic parallel to *ὑψοῦν*. In the same article F. C. BURKITT thinks (66) we have a word exactly corresponding to *ὑψοῦν* in the Aramaic אריס, Heb. הרים. אריס, in the Ithp. אתרמא, is actually the Aramaic term which J. BONSIRVEN favours as the equivalent of John's *ὑψωθῆναι* (67).

The difficulty with this last term is that while it does mean "to be lifted up", and in the Ithpolel אתרומם, "to be extolled", there does not seem to be any evidence that it was used for "to die", or "to be crucified". And the Jews in Jn 12,34, we may recall, appear to take the word used by Christ to imply his death.

In 1932 Ch. C. TORREY (68) saw another Aramaic parallel, namely סלק, used in the reflexive (אסתלק) in the sense of "to be raised up" (in lofty, literary contexts) and (in more common usage) "to go away, to depart". What the Aramaic words of Christ would have meant to the Jew in Jn 12,34 would then be: "when I depart from the land" (i. e. into foreign parts). Their objection would have been: "We read that Christ is to remain (in Palestine) for ever; how can you say that you are to depart to foreign lands?".

This sense does not, however, appear to do justice to the context. One gets the impression from v. 33 that the Jews understood Christ's words (v. 32) to refer to his death, rather than to his departure for a foreign country. And in our present discussion we may suppose that the

(63) P. 335.

(64) Pp. 336-38.

(65) F. C. BURKITT refers to ABBOTT's *Diatesserica* VII, 2988 (XXIII) *a* and *From Letter to Spirit*, p. 360. note[3] to § 1003 *c*.

(66) *A. C.*, p. 337.

(67) *Bib* 30 (1949) 430.

(68) *A. c.*, *JBL* 51 (1932) 320-22.

author who wrote v. 33 was conversant with Aramaic and took "being lifted up" to connote death.

F. C. BURKITT need not have given this rather forced interpretation of Jn 12,32.34 had he paid attention to another meaning of the same Ithp. form of the verb סלק, i. e. אסתלק in the sense of *"to die"*, a meaning it bears together with those given by BURKITT. Perhaps, Aramaic scholar that he was, he did not think that the Aramaic Ithp. is ever attested in this sense. JASTROW (69) registers it, true enough, as one of the meanings of the Ithp. but none of the examples he gives comes under this sense of the verb. LEVY (70) does not give "to die" as a meaning of the Aramaic form and neither does BUXTORF (71). One may, then, have legitimate doubts on what JASTROW has to say. Yet, one would expect the Aramaic Ithp. to have this meaning seeing that the corresponding Hebrew forms, Hithp. and Nith. of the same root are currently used in the sense of "to die".

Now, there is no doubt whatever that אסתלק in Aramaic bears the sense of "to die". We find it used in this sense at least four times, and in three distinct passages, in the PT, viz., Nm 11,26 (Neofiti), Dt 32,1 (TJII), both times on the death of Moses; Nm 21,1 (Neofiti – twice), on the deaths of Aaron and Miryam. In all these cases it is used of the deaths of the just. The Heb. form is also used of the death of the just (*Gen. R.* 62), but likewise of the deaths of Ben Zoma, after a period of mental illness (Tos. *Ḥagigah*, 2,5) and of R. Abbahu (*Ex. R.* 52,143 d). It may be that the verb is used only of the death of the just and may connote the ascent of the soul to God. If such were the case we may have prepared in Aramaic that specific Johannine use of *ὑψοῦν*. It is doubtful, however, that this is the case. JASTROW (72) sees the basic idea as: "being called away from this world". BILLERBECK (73) does likewise: "Sich aus der Welt entfernen", while LEVY (74) renders: "von der Welt entfernt wurde", "aus der Welt schied".

This term אסתלק, lit. "to be lifted up" = "to die", suits Jn 12,32.34 excellently. Christ said: When I am lifted up (*κἀγὼ ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς*) from the earth" (= ארעא ? מן גו עלמא ? אסתלק אנא כד),

(69) *Dictionary*, p. 997.
(70) *WTM*, *s. v.*, III, p. 537.
(71) *Lexicon*, *s. v.*
(72) *O. c.*
(73) He has collected the Heb. occurrences of the word in II, 139 to Lk 2,29.
(74) In his rendering of the Hebr. forms, *o. c.*, p. 536.

meaning, "When I am exalted through my death". The crowd know of the eternal kingdom of the Messiah from the Law, i. e. the OT (cf. Is 9,6; Pss 110; 108,4; Dn 7,13 f.; cp. Lk 1,33) and say: "How can you say, 'the Son of Man is to be lifted up'", *ὑψωθῆναι* = למסתלקא, = how can he die?

This Aramaic word, then, explains the use of *ὑψωθῆναι* in Jn 12,32.34. It is possible that the same root סלק, "to lift up", will explain *ὑψοῦν* in the other passages (4,14; 8,28). The specific theological idea of the exaltation that is to accompany this "lifting up" of Christ does not appear to be inherent in the Aramaic term itself, no more than it is in the Greek *ὑψοῦν*. This is something that the term is made to bear in its peculiarly Johannine usage.

The Aramaic term could as easily bear this wealth of meaning as the Greek one. And it is of particular importance that we find this precise Aramaic word a subject of word-play (75) in one of the PT occurrences we have considered above. It is N (76) to Nm 11,26 which runs as follows:

> Behold quail ascend (הא סלוי סלק) from the sea... Behold Moses, the Prophet will be taken up from the camp (מסתלק) ... Gog and Magog ascend (סלקין) on Jerusalem...".

Perhaps the typical Johannine use of the term was prepared in this, or similar, PT passages.

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(75) For a study of this feature of the PT cf. M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach*[2], pp. 241-44.

(76) The play is lost in TJI and TJII (Polyglots and ed. M. GINSBURGER, p. 50; see below p. 235) which have מתכנש for N's מסתלק. R. LE DÉAUT has brought to my attention another example of a play on the same word in N Nm 21,1. The text is as follows: "And the Canaanite king of Arad heard... that Aaron, the pious man, had died (אסתלק)... and that Miryam the prophetess had died (אסתלקת) for whose sake (or "merit") the well used to ascend (סלקת) for them... (when the king had heard) that Israel had arrived by the road through which the spies come up (סליקו)...".

PART TWO

PART II

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME GENERAL AND PARTICULAR THEMES IN THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM AND IN THE NT

In the first part of this study we have gone into some points where we believe there is a very close relation between the PT and the NT. In almost all these texts the parallels we have adduced to the NT are to be found only in the PT. It is quite plain that here we have a very strong indication that portions, at least, of this liturgical paraphrase have preserved pre-Christian interpretation of the OT, which renderings have in turn influenced the formulation of the Christian message.

We have called these passages "representative", by which we mean that the themes of which each of the preceding chapters treat are no mere isolated cases of the connection of the PT with the NT. The relation of these two bodies of writings can, in fact, be seen in a number of other cases. The purpose of the second part of this dissertation is to show how this is so. We shall then take up the same headings which we have already considered and show that there are many other points in which the PT and the NT writings agree. This shall provide an argument that the PT preserves much old material and dates in good part from NT times, if not earlier.

It is evident that we cannot go into all the cases of this relation in detail. Such work would prove impossible and, as a matter of fact, quite unnecessary, seeing that no small amount of study has been devoted to the matter already. It is quite sufficient for our subject to indicate what work has been done in this field, reserving more detailed examination for problems that have not yet been touched on and showing the bearing of the work already done on the general scope of this dissertation, i. e. the general and overall relation of the PT to the NT.

Some of the material to which we refer in this second part is found both in the Targums and in rabbinic Judaism in general. Such targumic parallels will not of themselves prove an early date for this work, seeing that they could possibly have been borrowed from rabbinic writings in the period after the destruction of Jerusalem, if the Targums were composed after this time. Taken together with the elements which are attested only in the Tgs, and considering that targumic material was most probably transmitted *en bloc* within Judaism, they indicate that the Tgs here represent a form of Judaism that influenced the ideas and language of the NT.

Chapter VI

HOW SOME BIBLICAL PERSONAGES ARE VIEWED IN THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM AND IN THE NT

Jewish tradition traces the origin of the Tgs back to the time of Ezra and his reform when "the levites read from the book, from the Law of God... and gave the sense so that the people understood the reading" (Neh 8,8). "The book" was taken in Jewish tradition to be the Law of Moses while the understanding the levites gave to the people was seen to be the Targum (1). Though the tradition is scarcely true to fact, it expresses very well what a targumic paraphrase is expected to be, i. e. a rendering that brings out the sense of the biblical text for later audiences. It will then be an actualization of the biblical text (2). This in turn will mean that later theological and legal beliefs are deduced from the biblical text, read into it, or connected with the public reading of it.

This attitude to the text affected the earlier traditions in general, which were re-told for the benefit of later generations. In this re-telling of biblical history, the lives and deeds of earlier personages were not recounted for the mere sake of history. Biblical characters tended to become vehicles of later tradition. They could easily become types of certain sections of humanity, prototypes of good and evil or perpetual reminders of the eternal truths of God's relation with humanity. In this way the portraits painted of these earlier figures became convenient and popular means for keeping revealed doctrine vivid before the minds of later generations.

We find that some biblical characters are viewed in the same light right down through Jewish tradition from pre-Christian times to later rabbinical ages. Hence the presence of such a portrait of a biblical person in the Tgs is no criterion for an early date of this work. But it is also a known fact that in the course of time the manner in which the popular

(1) *Meg.* 3 a.

(2) For this characteristic of midrash and targumic paraphrases cf. R. Bloch, "Midrash", *DBS* Vol. V, col. 1266 and p. 44 above.

mind considers such persons varies; the same character may pass from the foreground to the background and *vice versa*. Further, the peculiar feature of his life that catches the popular imagination changes from age to age. A comparative study of tradition, according to strict scientific principles, may then tell us which characteristic was stressed in any given age and may thus enable us to date a particular form of the tradition. From our point of view this means that if the portrait of a given person is found in the NT and PT and not elsewhere in rabbinic tradition, we have a strong argument that in the PT we have a midrash from the first century which has not been retained in rabbinic sources.

Since Christianity arose within Judaism and, as the promulgation and formulation of the Christian message is due mainly to Jewish minds, one will expect to find that OT personalities are viewed in the same light in the NT and in the Jewish sources. It is likewise antecedently probable that the manner in which the truths or revealed doctrine had attached themselves to OT persons within Judaism should, on occasion, have affected the formulation of the NT message, even though no direct reference be made in the NT to the OT persons in question. We believe that Jannes and Jambres, although not strictly OT personages, are good examples of the first instance while the paraphrase of Dt 30,12-14 in the PT and Rm 10,6-8 and Paul's use of Ps 67(68),19 in Eph 4,8 are good examples of the latter. We shall see whether there are further similar instances.

It is, of course, self-evident that here we treat only of persons whose NT and PT portrait goes beyond that of the biblical text. We are fortunate that this section is one of those most studied in modern times, principally by the thorough researches of G. VERMES and R. LE DÉAUT. We shall only give a very summary treatment of the work already done in this chapter, reserving more detailed study for problems not treated of by these writers.

I. Cain and Abel in the NT and PT [3]

1. *Cain and Abel in the NT*: The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews opens his eulogium on the great exemplars of faith with Abel:

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[3] J. Ramon DÍAZ, "Dos notas sobre el Targum palestinense", *Sefarad* 19 (1959) 133-36, esp. 134-36; R. LE DÉAUT, "Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus paulinien?", *Bib* 42 (1961) 28-48; pp. 30-36 for Cain and Abel; P. GRELOT, "Les Targums du Pentateuque, Étude comparative d'après Genèse IV, 3-16", *Semitica*

> By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, through which he received approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts; he died, but through his faith he is still speaking (Heb 11,4).

The biblical account (Gn 4,8) makes no mention of the faith of Abel. It simply says that God did not accept Cain's sacrifice whereas he accepted that of Abel (Gn 4,4 f.). Saddened at this, Cain invited Abel outside and slew him (Gn 4,8).

1 Jn 3,12 reminds Christians that they should remember the precept of charity, loving one another.

> And not be like Cain who was of the evil one and murdered his brother. And why did he murder him? Because his own deeds were evil and his brother's righteous.

Here, as in the case of Heb 11,4, John is going beyond the portrait of Cain which we find in the biblical text. The development is due either to the NT writers themselves or to later Jewish tradition (4).

2. *Cain and Abel in the PT*: We find Gn 4,8 paraphrased in the PT in such a manner as to make one conclude that its rendering was known to both these NT writers and influenced their pens when describing the figures of Cain and Abel.

We are fortunate in having these PT passages preserved in quite a number and variety of recensions, PTG, MS B; N, Ngl (in part), TJI, TJII, *Tosefta targumica* (5) and v. 8 in a citation in D. KIMḤI's commentary on the verse (6). KIMḤI's text is practically identical with TJII; so also is the *Tosefta targumica* except that this latter is in Babylonian Aramaic (7). PTG, MS B (c. 850-900 A. D.) presents a shorter text than

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9 (1959) 59-88. G. VERMES, "The Targumic Versions of Genesis 4,3-16", *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, 3 (1960-62), Leiden 1963, pp. 107-11. For further literature on our subject see R. LE DÉAUT, *a. c.*, p. 31, n. 1.

(4) Commenting on Heb 12,24 C. SPICQ, *L'épitre aux Hébreux* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1953, p. 410, says that the author "a esquissé un portrait chrétien d'Abel, influencé par celui de Jésus". R. LE DÉAUT, on the contrary (*a. c.*, pp. 35 f.), prefers to interpret this passage in the light of the PT to Gn 4,8.

(5) This *tosefta* can be seen in M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 72.

(6) This text of KIMḤI has escaped the notice of P. GRELOT and G. VERMES in the studies referred to above.

(7) Such *toseftas* written in Babylonian Aramaic are probably translated from PT texts for the benefit of congregations whose language was that of Babylonian

TJI, N and TJII. Its midrash is, however, essentially that of these other PT texts although much shorter. Its text reads (italics denote the biblical text):

> *And Cain said to Abel his brother*: "Come. *Let* both of *us go into the field*". *And when both of them had gone into the field* Cain answered and said to Abel: "I know that the world was created by mercy and is governed by mercy. For what reason then was your gift received from you favourably and mine was not received from me favourably?". Abel answered and said to Cain: "What matters it (מה דאין דא ד') (9) if the world was created by mercy and is governed by mercy? It is also governed by the fruits of good works. Because my works were better than yours my offering was received from me favourably and yours was not received favourably". And both of them were arguing in the field and *Cain rose against his brother Abel and killed him.*

Here we find Abel considered as a martyr who died for the point of doctrine denied by Cain. We can gather from Abel's reply that Cain's view was that good works were not necessary in order to have one's sacrifice acceptable to God (10). Cain's works were evil while those of Abel were good. Here we have the picture of the brothers painted in exactly

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Jewry. For other texts of targumic *toseftas* in Babylonian Aramaic recently published by A. DÍEZ MACHO cf. "Nuevos fragmentos de Tosefta Targumica", *Sefarad* 16 (1956) 313-24.

(8) The Aramaic text can be seen in *MdW*, pp. 6 f.; for its date see *ibid.*, p. 2.

(9) We render the rare and difficult מה דאין דא ד' as "what matters it if...". P. GRELOT, *a. c.*, p. 72 and n. 1, renders as "certainement" while G. VERMES translates (*a. c.*, p. 101): "so the world was created by love and governed by love? It is surely governed...". The context seems to require that the reply of Abel and this phrase be a concession of the position of Cain. J. R. DÍAZ takes it (*a. c.*, pp. 134 ff.) that Abel's reply is entirely a negation of the thesis of Cain.

(10) J. R. DÍAZ, *a. c.*, pp. 134-36, thinks that PT Gn 4,8 speaks of a debate between Cain and Abel on Justification. Cain's "thesis" according to PTG, MS B, TJI and Nmg would be: "La justificación procede por via de amor y misericordia, graciosamente, sin reparar en las obras", whereas that of Abel according to PTG, MS, B, would be: "La justificación no es por via de amor y favor, sino en conformidad con las obras" (p. 134). The thesis of Cain, i. e. "que el mundo se purifica o salva por la misericordia" (p. 135) would be quite an orthodox one, though denied by Abel. It does not appear that the debate between the brothers in any of the PT texts, not even PTG, MS B, directly concerns justification.

the same fashion as we find it in 1 Jn 3,12. Cain is the forerunner of the antinomians as we find him in Jude 11.

The other PT texts have a more developed form of the dispute between Cain and Abel. Despite this, their paraphrase is the same, though the "confessions of faith" of Abel and the denials of Cain are contained in two assertions in TJI and N and in a single assertion in TJII and KIMḤI ([11]). We render N here (italics as before):

> *When both of them had gone out into the field* Cain answered and said to Abel: "I understand that the world was created by mercy but is not governed according to the fruits of good works and there is respect of persons in judgement. For which reason your offering was received favourably and my offering was not received favourably from me". Abel answered and said to Cain: "I understand that the world was created by mercy and is governed according to the fruits of good works. And as my works were better than yours my offering was received favourably". Cain answered and said to Abel: "There is no judgement and there is no judge and there is no other world; and there is no giving of good reward to the just nor is retribution exacted of the wicked" ([11a]). Abel answered and said to Cain: "There is a judgement and there is a judge and there is another world and there is giving of good reward to the just; and retribution is exacted of the wicked in the world to come". Over this matter both of them were disputing *in the field, and Cain rose up against his brother Abel and slew him.*

Here, more explicitly than in PTG, we find Abel presented as a confessor of the faith, the manner in which Heb 11,4 depicts him. The wickedness of Cain and the righteousness of Abel are noted by JOSEPHUS (*JA* 1,2,1), the pair having become types of the "wicked" (*πονηροί*, רשעים) and the "righteous" (*δίκαιοι*, צדיקים), the two classes into which Judaism by the NT age had divided humanity ([12]). The PT parallel, with its insistence on the faith of Abel, is much closer than this text of JOSEPHUS to Heb 11,4, as it likewise is to 1 Jn 3,12. P. GRELOT ([13]), fol-

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([11]) For a Latin version of TJI and TJII see WALTON; for an English one J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.*, pp. 170-72.

([11a]) Cf. G. F. MOORE, *Judaism II*, pp. 395 f. and note 1 to p. 360.

([12]) Cf. G. F. MOORE, *o. c.* I p. 494.

([13]) *A. c.*, "Les Targums...", p. 86.

lowed by R. LE DÉAUT [14], says that "il semble... que la 1ª *Johannis*... connait substantiellement la matière mise en forme dans la Targum palestinien". The same appears to hold good for the relation of Heb 11,4 to the PT.

II. Zechariah the Son of Barachiah: Mt 23,35 and Tg Lam 2,20 [15]

In Mt 23,35 f. (par. Lk 11,51) Christ tells the scribes and Pharisees that there would come on their heads "all the righteous blood shed on earth from the blood of the innocent Abel to the blood of Zechariah the son of Barachiah... murdered between the sanctuary and the altar". The first part of the quotation is a clear reference to Gn 4,10 according to which God says to Cain, Abel's murderer:

> "The voice of thy brother's blood is crying (קול דמי אחיך צעקים) to me from the ground".

The Heb. word צעק implies that the cry was one for vengeance [16]. It is this that is to be brought on the generation of the scribes and Pharisees. The biblical text alone can explain these words of Christ. They are all the more forceful when we realize that Jewish tradition [16], going on the plural "bloods" (דמים) of the HT, understood the text to refer to the just multitude that would have arisen from Abel, the prototype of this class. The PT represents this exegesis and renders Gn 4,10 as follows:

> "The voice of the multitude of the just that would have arisen from Abel, your brother, is crying against you before me from the earth".

In the NT text cited, Christ gives the first and last example of the murder of a just man recounted in the Hebrew Canon, the murder of Zechariah being recounted in 2 Chron 24,21 f. His dying words: "May the Lord see and avenge" (2 Chron 24,22) recall those of the Lord to Cain in Gn 4,10. The NT text would present no difficulty had not Matthew, unlike Luke, called this latter "Zechariah the son of Barachiah", whereas

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[14] *A. c.*, ("Traditions targumiques..."), p. 33.

[15] Cf. S. H. BLANK, "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature", *HUCA* 12-13 (1937-38) 327-46.

[16] For a discussion of the bearing of Gn 4,10 on Heb 12,24 see R. LE DÉAUT, *a. c.*, pp. 34-36.

in 2 Chron he is invariably named "Zechariah, the son of Jehoiadah" (בן יהוידע, LXX: *τοῦ Ἰωδαε*).

Various solutions of this discrepancy between the texts of Matthew and Luke have been given. A rather common one is that "the son of Barachiah" of Matthew is really a later gloss inserted into the canonical text (17). This has in its favour the fact that the words in question are absent from MS ℵ. The omission of the phrase from this MS is, however, much more easily explained than is its insertion in the others. Another possibility is that "Barachiah" is a corruption of an original "Jehoiadah". JEROME notes (18) that "in evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, pro *filio Barachiae, filium Ioiade* reperimus scriptum". This appears to be an evident correction of the text of Matthew. J. WELLHAUSEN resuscitated an 18th century view according to which the person to whom the text of Matthew refers is Zechariah, the son of *βάρεις* (or *βαρισκαίον* or *βαρούχον*) who was killed by the Zealots in the Temple c. 68 A.D. (19). The names, however, are not quite the same, and this Zechariah killed by the Zealots was not done to death "between the sanctuary and the altar" but at the tribunal that had been set up in the Temple, which was then acting as a fortress. The parallelism with "Abel the Just" is lost in any view that sees in Zechariah any person yet to arise.

L. LIGIER has more recently put forward another explanation of the difficulty (20). Zechariah of 2 Chron 24,20-22 was a type of Christ, the true Zechariah (= God remembers; cp. the word-play in 2 Chron *l. c.*). Christ calls this New Zechariah the "son of Barachiah" (= the Blessing of God), as it is He who will bring about divine blessings. "Comme l'indiquait son nom (Bérékyah: Yahvé bénit) c'est à ce vraie Zacharie, donc à lui-même que songe ici Jésus..." (21). The view is scarcely convincing. When Christ says that Zechariah was killed "between the Temple and the Altar" he is referring to Zechariah of 2 Chron, and it is this historical person that is called "the son of Barachiah".

There are three Zechariahs mentioned in the OT. One is the witness which Isaiah (Is 8,2) is told to take together with Uriah the priest. This

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(17) The possibility of the gloss is granted by P. BENOIT, *L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu* (BJ), 3rd ed., Paris 1961, p. 143, n. *b*.

(18) *In Matth.*, 23,26; *PL* 26,174.

(19) The murder is recounted by JOSEPHUS, *BJ*, 4,5,4, § 335; see n. *a*. in the Loeb ed. (London 1928), *Josephus III*, pp. 98 f.

(20) In *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde II* (Théologie), Aubière 1961, pp. 147-49.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Zechariah is called "the son of Jeberechiah" (בן יברכיהו) in the HT, which the LXX renders as *υἱὸς βαραχίου*. The second Zechariah is the person we have already considered (2 Chron 24,20-22) while the third is the eleventh of the Minor Prophets. This last-mentioned person bears as his full title in Zech 1,1: "Zechariah the son of Berechiah the son of Iddo" (*Ζαχαρίας ὅς τοῦ βαραχίου υἱὸς Ἀδδώ*). He is nowhere called "Zechariah the son of Berechiah". Outside Zech 1,1 he is thrice mentioned in the OT and is, on each occasion, called simply "Zechariah the son of Iddo" (Ezr 5,1; 6,14; Neh 12,16); Iddo being his grandfather according to Zech 1,1.

Rabbinic literature knows of a certain confusion among these various personages ([22]). In the Bab. Talmud (*Mak.* 24 b) Zechariah of Is 8,1 is taken to be the prophet of Zech 1,1. In *Eccl. R.* to Ecc 3,16 Zechariah of Is 8,1 is confused with Zechariah ben Jehoiadah of 2 Chron 24,20-22. Only in a single place in Jewish literature, i. e. Tg Lam 2,20, is Zechariah of 2 Chron identified with the prophet Zechariah ben Iddo.

The HT to Lam 2,20 has: "Should the priest and the prophet be slain in the temple of the Lord?" The Tg paraphrases as follows ([23]) (Italics denote the biblical text):

אם הזי למקטל בבית מוקדשא	*Is it proper to kill in the Temple*
דיי כהנא ונביא	*of the Lord a priest and a prophet*
כמא וקטלתון ית זכריה בר עדו	as you killed **Zechariah bar Iddo**
כהנא רבא ונביא מהימן	the High Priest and the faithful
בבית מוקדשא דיי	prophet in the Temple of the Lord
ביומא דכפוריא על	on the Day of Atonement because
דאכח יתכון דלא תעבדון	he admonished you not to do
דביש קדם יי.	what was evil before the Lord.

There can be no doubt but that Zechariah the son of Jehoiadah is the person here intended. In the Tg he is considered both the priest and the prophet of the text of Lamentations. That he was a priest is quite clear from Chron 24,20. Why he is called High Priest is not clear. JOSEPHUS (*JA* 9,8,3, 168) calls his father Jehoiadah such (*ἀρχιερεύς*),

([22]) For this point see S. H. BLANK, *a. c.*, pp. 328-34.

([23]) The Aramaic text and Latin rendering may be found in WALTON.

though this title seems to be a usual one in JOSEPHUS with whom it bears no special significance. It is possible that the later Targumist considered Zechariah a High Priest because of the role he plays in 2 Chron 24,20-22. That he is called a prophet causes no surprise seeing that he was moved by the holy spirit to admonish the people (2 Chron 24,20). JOSEPHUS, too, in the passage already referred to says God appointed him to prophesy.

In both the texts of Matthew and Tg Lam, then, we find the person killed in the Temple according to 2 Chron confused with his namesake, the eleventh of the Minor Prophets. The sole difference between the two texts is that in Mt 23,36 he is called " the son of Barechiah" whereas in Tg Lam he bears the name "the son of Iddo", the father of Berechiah according to Zech 1,1. The name in Tg Lam is that by which the Minor Prophet in question was generally called (cf. Ezr 5,1; 6,14; Neh 12,16). The important point, however, is the identity of the person, or rather, the confusion of the names regarding the person of Zechariah the son of Jehoiadah.

This text of Tg Lam and its bearing on Mt 23,36 was noted by S. H. BLANK ([24]) but does not appear to have come to the notice of NT exegetes. S. H. BLANK ([25]) himself thinks that "the son of Iddo" of Tg Lam may really be no more than an error for "the son of Jehoiadah", the murdered priest's real name. The Tg to 2 Chron transcribes the priest's father's name correctly, however, and it does not appear that we find this confusion between "Iddo" and "Jehoiadah" elsewhere. The probabilities are, then, that Tg Lam 2,20, as Mt 23,36, attaches the name of the post-exilic prophet to the person killed in the Temple at an earlier period. In this case both are dependent on a similar tradition.

This does not prove that the Tg to Lamentations is a pre-Christian work. It is in fact dated to a much later period by critics ([26]). There is, however, nothing improbable in the fact that it should retain an old tradition lost in other rabbinic texts. We have seen a similar case in Tg Ps 69,19 and shall meet others later.

([24]) In *a. c.*, pp. 327 ff.

([25]) *Ibid.*, p. 333.

([26]) For a study of this Targum see S. LANDAUER, "Zum Targum der Klagelieder", in *Orientalische Studien... Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, pp. 505-12. He follows L. ZUNZ (cf. *GV*², pp. 68 f.) in dating it to the post-talmudic period; cf. *a. c.*, p. 505.

III. Traditions on Isaac in the PT and the NT [27]

1. *Isaac in the NT.*: The explicit NT references to Isaac are few, and with one exception (Gal 4,29), scarcely go beyond the biblical text or what can be easily deduced from it. Isaac is mentioned together with Abraham and Jacob in some stock phrases; it is recalled that the promises were carried on through him (Rm 9,7.10; Gal 4,28; Heb 11,18). Abraham sacrificed him in faith (Heb 11,17) and Isaac invoked blessings on his sons in faith (Heb 11,20). Jam 2,21 sees from Abraham's sacrifice that good works must accompany faith.

When St Paul says of God that he did not spare his own Son (*τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο*) but gave him up for us all (Rm 8,32; cp. Jn 3,16) he appears to have in mind the words God addressed to Abraham after the Patriarch had obeyed his word regarding the sacrifice of Isaac (Gn 22,16) which in the LXX reads: *οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου . . .* The Father-Son relation in the Gospels, in that of John in particular, recalls the relation of Abraham and Isaac in Gn 22. We may then legitimately enquire whether the figure of Isaac and the manner in which his person and sacrifice were viewed in Judaism have played any part in the presentation and formulation of the NT doctrine regarding Christ and his redemptive work.

2. *The sacrifice of Isaac in Judaism*: The sacrifice (or "the binding", as it is called in Judaism) of Isaac plays a prominent part in rabbinic Judaism. It is considered there as a free act on the part of Isaac that had expiatory effects and won God's favour for Israel. I. LÉVI [28] compares the effects of this sacrifice in Jewish theology and that of Christ in the NT in the following words:

> Il y a parallélisme entre la vertu de la mort de Jésus d'après la théologie chrétienne, et celle du sacrifice d'Isaac — ou Akèda — d'après le rituel des prières de la synagogue et les enseignements des rabbins; mort es sacrifice, librement acceptés, ont une puissance rédemptrice.

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[27] Cf. R. LE DÉAUT, "La présentation targumique du sacrifice d'Isaac et la sotériologie paulinienne" in *Studiorum paulinorum congressus internationalis catholicus 1961*, Rome 1963, II, pp. 563-74; G. VERMÈS, "Redemption and Genesis XXII — The Binding of Isaac and the Sacrifice of Jesus" in *Scripture and Tradition*, Leiden 1961, pp. 193-227. Further literature can be seen in the two articles.

[28] "Le sacrifice d'Isaac et la mort de Jésus", *REJ* 64 (1912) 161-84.

The question that now arises is whether these rabbinic texts are dependent on Christianity or *vice versa*. A. GEIGER [29] believes that the former is the case. Babylonian Judaism, he takes it, borrowed this theme from the Syrian Church in the 3rd century. I. LÉVI [30] holds the contrary view, believing that "il y a simple transposition, greffe sur la mort de Jésus de la conception qu'avait fait naître le sacrifice d'Isaac". This view of I. LÉVI has also been defended by H. J. SCHOEPS [31].

3. *Dating of the traditions on the binding of Isaac*: G. VERMES [32] and R. LE DÉAUT [33] have devoted close attention to the question in recent years. As a result of the more perfect method now at our disposal for dating Jewish material we can rest assured that the Jewish theology on the Binding of Isaac is in the main pre-Christian, seeing that many of its themes are attested in the works of JOSEPHUS [34], PHILO [35], in the *Biblical Antiquities* of PSEUDO-PHILO [36] and in the Mekilta [37]. As the PT presents the same doctrine of the Binding of Isaac as do rabbinic sources we can legitimately examine what light this Tg has to throw on NT texts. We give here the relevant features of Isaac in the PT and refer our readers to the detailed studies of G. VERMES and R. LE DÉAUT for a more thorough understanding of the texts.

4. *The sacrifice of Isaac and the Passover*: In the present-day Jewish liturgy the sacrifice of Isaac is commemorated at the feast of the New Year (Rosh ha-Shanah). It is very probable that this connection of the Aqedah with the New Year feast is both secondary and late and that at an earlier date the event was recalled at the feast of Passover [38]. The

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[29] Cf. LÉVI, *ibid.*, pp. 161 f.

[30] *A. c.*, p. 161.

[31] "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology", *JBL* 65 (1946) 38-965; *id.*, *Paulus*, Tübingen 1959, pp. 144-52; cf. R. LE DÉAUT, *a. c.*, p. 563 for reserves on the position of LÉVI and SCHOEPS.

[32] *A. c.*

[33] *A. c.*

[34] *JA* 1,13,2-4 §§ 225-35.

[35] *De Abr.* 198.

[36] *LAB*, 18,5; 32,1-4; 40,3.

[37] E. g. in *Pisḥa* 7 to Ex 12,13.

[38] In the present liturgy the 'Aqedah occurs in the *zikronôt* for Rosh ha-Shanah. I. ELBOGEN ("Bemerkungen zur alten jüdischen Liturgie" in *Studies in Jewish Literature... in Honor of K. Kohler*, Berlin 1913, p. 75; and *JG*^{2}, p. 143) gives strong reasons for thinking that this theme was not an original part of the liturgical prayer. L. J. LIEBREICH ("Aspects of the New Year Liturgy", *HUCA* 34 1963 146) says that I. ELBOGEN (in *a. c.* in the Kohler Festschrift) has "dem-

Book of Jubilees appears to date Abraham's sacrifice of his son to the Passover feast celebrated then by the Patriarch ([39]). We find the narrative of the Binding of Isaac inserted in a Passover context in TJII and N to Ex 12,42 (Ex 15,18 in the Paris MS). It is probable, then, that in NT times the sacrifice of Isaac was connected with the feast of Passover.

5. *The sacrifice of Isaac and the Temple* ([40]): Jewish tradition, from the time of JOSEPHUS at least, considered that Abraham sacrificed Isaac on the very site of the future Temple. This fact had its effect on the formulation of the popular theology on the effects of the sacrifice of Isaac.

6. *Nature of the sacrifice of Isaac* ([41]): Though the sacrifice of Isaac was never really consummated, Jewish theology considered it as such from the point of view of its effects. Abraham is considered a perfect sacrificer who offered his son to God with a perfect heart. Isaac, on his part, willingly took part in the offering, asked his father to bind him thoroughly as a sacrificial offering and is even spoken of as having bound himself on the altar of sacrifice.

7. *Effects of the sacrifice of Isaac* ([42]): The sacrifice of Isaac is considered to exist as a *memorial* ([43]) before God; seeing the blood of Isaac he comes to the aid of Israel in the time of distress. The Sacrifice is further connected with the offering of the *Paschal Lamb* ([44]) and with the *Tamid* ([45])

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onstrated convincingly" that the 'Aqedah theme is an interpolation in the Rosh ha-Shanah liturgy. LIEBREICH says further: "The *'aqedah* ... as a Rosh ha-Shanah reading is unknown in tannaitic sources. The earliest reference to it as a Rosh ha-Shanah reading is in Megillah 31a... Consequently, it was in Babylonia during the amoraic period that the *'aqedah* was inserted as the Torah reading for the second day of Rosh ha-Shanah. In view of this, the inference is warranted that the *'aqedah* passage with the midrashic ideas it embraces was inserted in the epilogue to *zikhronoth* either at the same time that the *'aqedah* became a Rosh ha-Shanah Torah reading, or a short time thereafter. In either event, *the 'aqedah theme in the Rosh ha-Shanah liturgy had its origin in the period of the Babylonian Amoraim*" (*ibid.*, p. 147; concluding italics ours).

([39]) 17,15; 18,3; cf. A. JAUBERT, *La date de la Cène*, Paris 1957, pp. 25 f.; LE DÉAUT, *a. c.*, n. 4, pp. 568 f.

([40]) Cf. G. VERMES, *a. c.*, pp. 208-11; R. LE DÉAUT, *a. c.* p. 565.

([41]) Cf. VERMES, *a. c.*, pp. 195 ff.; 204 ff.

([42]) Cf. G. VERMES, *a. c.*, pp. 206 ff.; LE DÉAUT, *a. c.*, pp. 565 ff.

([43]) Cf. G. VERMES, *o. c.*, pp. 206 ff.

([44]) Cf. VERMES, *ibid.*, pp. 214-18.

([45]) Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 209-11.

offering in the Temple. Because of the fact that he was bound on the altar, one targumic text (Tg Job 3,18) calls Isaac "the Servant of the Lord", which appears to identify him with the Servant of Is 53 ([46]). As far as we can ascertain, however, this targumic text is without parallel in Jewish literature.

8. *Isaac traditions in the PT and in the NT* ([47]): We have seen that the NT references to Isaac are few. This does not imply that the manner in which his person and sacrifice were conceived of in Judaism did not influence NT thought and expression. In fact they appear to have done so in a number of ways.

a) Some exegetes have realized that when Christ is referred to as "the Lamb of God" ([48]) in Jn 1,29 and as "a lamb without blemish or spot" (*αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου*) ([49]) in 1 Pt 1,19 the reference is not to any individual lamb, such as the Paschal one, the lamb of the *Tamid* offering, the Lamb of Is 53,7 etc., but rather to a fusion of two or more of these biblical texts. This is now rendered all the more probable seeing that many, if not all, these aspects were already connected with the person of Isaac in the PT and NT Judaism. What the NT writers would have done is merely to have transferred to Christ what the Jewish liturgy predicated of Isaac.

b) There are many other aspects of NT doctrine which can be brought into relation with the Jewish presentation of the Sacrifice of Isaac, such as the Father-Son relation and the influence of the Sacrifice-of-Isaac theme in the formulation of the NT doctrine of the Redemptive work of

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([46]) *Ibid.*, p. 203; cf. R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, p. 199, n. 175.

([47]) Cf. I. LÉVI, "Le sacrifice d'Isaac et la mort de Jésus", *REJ* 64 (1912) 161-85; H. J. SCHOEPS, *JBL* 65 (1946) 385-92; *id.*, *Paulus*, pp. 144-52; R. LE DÉAUT, *a. c.* "La présentation targumique...", pp. 570-74; G. VERMES, *o. c.*, pp. 218-27.

([48]) Cf., e. g. D. MOLLAT, *L'Évangile ... de saint Jean* (BJ), Paris 1953, p. 72, n. *e* on Jn 1,39: "Voici l'agneau de Dieu": "Il fond en une seule réalité l'image du 'Serviteur' d'Is., 53, qui porte le péché des hommes et s'offre en agneau expiatoire (Lev., 24) et le rite de l'agneau pascal, symbole de la rédemption d'Israël. Cf. I Cor., 5,7; I Petr., I, 18-20".

([49]) Cf. K. H. SCHELKLE, *Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief* (Herders theologischer Kommentar zum NT, XIII, 2) Freiburg i. B., 1961, p. 49 *in loc.*; "Christus ist als Opferlamm vorgestellt. In dem Bildwort mag mehrfache Überlieferung zusammenkommen. Is 53 wird der Gottesknecht mit einer Opferlamm verglichen, und der Vergleich ist Apg 8,32 auf Christus bezogen...". For the bearing of the PT on the text of 1 Pt see R. LE DÉAUT, "Le Targum de *Gen.* 28,8 et 1 *Pt.* 1,20", *RSR* 49 (1961) 103-06.

Christ (50). These, and other aspects, would take us too far afield and we refer our readers to the studies that have already been made of these points (51).

It appears clear from the foregoing brief statement of the relation between the NT and the Jewish traditions on Isaac that these latter have played no small role in the manner in which the NT message was presented. This study indicates how naturally Jewish traditions could have been used by NT writers and shows us that we should seek solutions to NT problems from the way in which the OT was understood in Judaism as much, if not more so, as from the OT text itself.

IV. **Balaam in the PT and in the NT**

When 2 Pt 2,15 f. says that Balaam, a mad prophet, loved gain from wrongdoing, and when Ap 2,14 says that he taught Balak to put a stumbling block before the sons of Israel, that they might eat food sacrified to idols and practice fornication, both writers give us a portrait of the seer from Pethor that goes beyond that which we find in the biblical texts (Nm 22 - 24).

The NT figure of Balaam is that which we find in the PT and Palestinian sources as has been made clear by G. VERMES in his exhaustive study of the Balaam traditions (52).

V. **The Midrash on the Veil of Moses; 2 Cor 3,7 - 4,6 and PT Ex 33 - 34; TJI Nm 7,89** (53)

The difficulties that attach to Paul's excursus on the Veil of Moses in 2 Cor 3,7 - 4,6 and the application which he makes of the symbolism attached to this veil are but too well known. One of the reasons for the

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(50) For a possible relation between the *Aqedah* traditions and the Eucharist and on J. JEREMIAS' understanding of *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναμνησιν* cf. G. VERMES, *o. c.*, pp. 225-27.

(51) Cf. above, note 27.

(52) "The Story of Balaam" in *Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 127-77.

(53) Cf. Str.-B., III, pp. 502-16; H. St. J. THACKERAY, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London 1900, pp. 75 f.; S. LYONNET, *Exegesis Epistulae Secundae ad Corinthios* (Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Rome 1955-1956; ad usum privatum auditorum), pp. 144-172; E. GERHARDSSON, *Memory and Manuscript*, Uppsala 1961, pp. 285-87.

obscure nature of certain elements of this NT passage is that the movement of the Apostle's thought is too swift to permit him to develop any of the points he raises in great detail. His purpose is to stress before the Corinthian community and before his enemies there that the New Dispensation is incomparably superior to the Old, a fact symbolized by the narrative of the promulgation of the Old Law itself. It is less easy to know whether his Corinthian readers were capable of following his thought and his symbolism; some exegetes doubt it (54). S. SCHULZ (55), on the contrary, thinks that in this passage Paul is really taking up a midrash on Ex 34 that was used by Paul's Judaizing enemies at Corinth, a midrash which intended to bring out the glory of the Mosaic dispensation. Paul would then be merely turning their own method of argumentation against themselves.

This is of course quite possible though it can scarcely be proved. W. C. VAN UNNIK is not convinced by the view (56). Paul himself, he observes (57), was as well able to give a midrash of Ex 33 as his enemies were. He prefers to see a free treatment of the OT biblical text due to Paul himself in the NT pericope in question, though the field was prepared for him by Jewish thought and traditions in some of the elements of his paraphrase.

In the present article we intend to study this NT passage in the light of Judaism, in that of the PT in particular. We have already seen how Paul appears to follow the PT to Dt 30,12-14 in Rm 10,6-8. It is then quite possible that this same paraphrase may lie at the background of his thought in 2 Cor 3,7 - 4,6. Having seen that 2 Tm 3,8 has a perfect parallel in TJI Ex 7,11 — a passage not found in other PT texts — we shall keep this PT rendering in mind as a possible source for Paul's thought and phraseology.

2 Cor 3,7 - 4,6 is closely connected with the general context of the first chapters of the Epistle. For this reason we first treat of the passage that leads up to it (1). We shall then study the elements of the midrash sep-

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(54) Cf. W. D. DAVIES, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, London 1948, p. 107, n. 2: "While in 2 Cor 3, it is remotely possible that Paul is using a fixed midrash, it is far more likely that he is following his own fancy, improvising as it were. W. L. KNOX, doubts whether his readers would follow him in his haggadic excursions, for this reason presumably".

(55) "Die Decke des Moses. Untersuchungen zu einer vorpaulinischen Überlieferung in II Cor 3,7-18", *ZNW* 49 (1958) 1-31.

(56) Cf. " 'With Unveiled Face' ", *NT* 6 (1963) 61.

(57) *Ibid.*

arately, i. e. "the Glory of Moses' Face" (2); "the Veil of Moses" (3); "the veil removed by conversion" (4); "the Lord is the Spirit" (5).

1. *Introduction*: In his apology to the Corinthians Paul cannot help expressing his intense convictions on the nature of the message he preaches. The New Dispensation is a power for life for those that accept it (2,14-16); it is the New Covenant spoken of by Jeremiah (31,33), written "not with ink, but by the spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts" (2,3). He returns to this point again in 3,7 where he speaks of "the dispensation of death carved in letters of stone" (*ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις*). In these opening words of the midrash Paul refers to the definitive promulgation of the Law by Moses as narrated in Ex 32,15 f. "And Moses... went down from the mountain with the two tables of the testimony in his hands, tables (HT לחת; LXX *πλάκες λίθιναι*) that were written on both sides... (16)... and the writing was the work of God graven (HT: חרות: LXX *κεκολαμμένη*) upon the tables". For Paul this external code was one of death since "the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2,6). The New Law is one of liberty: "Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord (*τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου*) is, there is freedom" (3,17).

Paul is clearly attacking the Jewish view of the Law in 2 Cor 3,7 ff. which saw the place of the Law in the divine economy of salvation in a false perspective. It is quite possible that in 3,7.17 he is directly polemizing against an interpretation that took Ex 32,16 as implying the liberty of those who observed the Law. We find a similar understanding of the verse in M. *Abot* 6,2 which plays on the radicals of the Hebrew word *ḥaruth*, "graven" of Ex 32,16: "Read not *ḥaruth* but *ḥeruth* (freedom), for thou findest no freeman excepting him that occupies himself in the study of the Law" ([58]). We can be quite sure that such a view of the Law was

([58]) Cf. H. DANBY, *The Mishnah*, London 1933, p. 459. The importance of this text for understanding "the perfect law of freedom" of Jm 1,25, as well as the text of 2 Cor 3,7 (cp. Jn 8,32), is evident. This, and other rabbinical texts bearing on the Law and liberty, can be seen in Str.-B. II, to Jn 8,32 (pp. 522 f.) and III, p. 508, note *w*, to 2 Cor 3,7. Similar texts, in English translation, can be seen in *A Rabbinic Anthology*, selected with an introduction by C. G. MONTEFIORE and H. LOEWE (Meridian Books and the Jewish Publication Society of America), Cleveland and New York — Philadelphia 1963, pp. 129 f., 140, 547 f. For the bearing of the Mishnah text on Jm 1,25 and for additional literature, see F. MUSSNER, *Der Jakobusbrief* (*Herders Theol. Komm. zum N. T.*, XII/1), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1964, pp. 108 f.

current in Paul's day and this liberty may well have been seen implied in the Hebrew word חרות as the Mishnah text just cited sees it.

2. *The glory of Moses' face* (59): In the passage under discussion Paul speaks four times (3,7.10 bis.11) of the Law being given in glory. The giving of the Law to which he refers is not the first one, accompanied with thunder and lightning (Ex 19,18 ff.), but the second and definitive one which is recounted in Ex 32,15 - 34,35. The glory in which it was given was that which Moses asked God to show him (Ex 33,18; cf. 33,22), the glory which made his face shine (Ex 34,29).

In 3,7 Paul says that the dispensation of death "came with such glory that the Israelites could not look on the face of Moses because of its glory" (*ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*).

This is a clear reference to Ex 34,29 which according to the MT says:

> When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, with the two tables of the testimony in his hand as he came down from the mountain, Moses did not know that the skin of his face shone (קרן עור פניו) because he had been talking with God. (30) And when Aaron and all the people saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone and they were afraid to come near him.

The verb קרן occurs but four times in all in the NT; three times, as qal, in the present context (34,29.30.35), and once in the Hiphil in Ps 69,32 where it refers to a bull growing horns. The Vg renders the qal in our text in the same manner: *cornuta facies*! The verb קָרַן is a denominative one from קֶרֶן, which ordinarily means "horn", though in Hab 3,4 it is used in the dual in the sense of rays, i. e. flashes of lightning that accompany God during a theophany. Commentators are unanimous in taking the Exodus texts in question to mean no more than that the skin of Moses' face shone.

St Paul is then going on some exegetical tradition that took the texts to refer to a special glory that shone from Moses on this occasion. We find this interpretation of the text already in the LXX which renders the Hebrew words given above as: *δεδόξασθαι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*. The LXX is here probably representing Palestinian exegesis. We find the same manner of understanding the text in Pseudo-Philo's *LAB* 12,1 (60).

(59) Cf. Str.-B. III, pp. 513-15 and the commentaries on the passage.

(60) Ed. G. Kisch, p. 146.

Et descendit Moses [from Sinai or heaven], et cum perfusus esset lumine invisibili, ut descenderet (61) in locum ubi lumen solis et lune est vicit lumine faciei sue splendorem solis et lune, et hoc nesciebat ipse. Et factum est cum descenderet ad filios Israel, videntes non cognoverunt eum... Et factum est postea cum sciret Moses quoniam gloriosissima facta fuerit facies eius, fecit sibi velamen unde cooperiret faciem suam.

This same exegetical tradition can be seen in all Tgs to the passage of Exodus. O renders:

ומשה לא ידע ארי	And Moses did not know that the
סני זיו יקרא דאפוהי	splendour of the glory of his
	countenance was great because of
במללותיה עמיה.	his conversing with him.

N renders:

ומשה לא הוה ידע ארום	And Moses did not know that the
נהר זיו איקרהון דאפוי	splendour of the glory of his face
במללותיה עמיה.	shone because of his conversing with him.

TJI has a more paraphrastic version than that of O or N.

ומשה מא חכים	And Moses did not know
ארום אשתבהר זיו איקונין דאנפוי (62)	that the splendour of his features (62) was made glorious.

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(61) *V. l., descendit*; M. R. JAMES, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo, now first translated from the Old Latin Version*, London 1917, corrects to *descendit enim*.

(62) איקונין comes from the Greek *εἰκών* or *εἰκόνιον*; cf. M. JASTROW, *Dictionary* ... s. vv. איקון, איקונין pp. 59 f. זיו איקונין דאנפוי is used in TJI Ex 34,29..30.35 to render "the skin of the face" of the HT and is to be rendered *ad sensum* by "features"; see M. JASTROW, *o. c.*, s. v. איקונין, p. 60; LEVY, *WT s. v.* איקונא p. 25. איקונין in the sense of "features" is also found in TJI, Gn 4,5 f. (cp. 0); 25, 19; 37,3; Ex 34,33.34.35c. The same Greek loanword is used in rabbinic writings in their speculations on man as the image of God; cf. J. JERVELL, *Imago Dei. Gen. 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (= Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N.T.; 76 NF 58), Göttingen 1960, pp. 96 ff. It must have been borrowed early by Judaism as it is used by Bar Kappara c. 200 A. D. (in *Moed Katan* 15 b). There is no reason why it should not have been current in Judaism before the Christian era seeing the strong influence exerted by Hellenism in Palestine from

דהוה ליה	which (happened) to him
מן זיו איקר שכינתא דיי	from the splendour of the glory of the Shekinah of the Lord
בזמן מלליותיה עמיה.	at the time of his converse with him.

This particular text of 2 Cor, then, presents no difficulty. The Apostle is clearly dependent on a widely attested Palestinian understanding of Ex 34,29.

3. *The veil of Moses* (63): Having finished his words on the glory that accompanied the giving of the Old Law, Paul goes on to say (3,12 f.):

> Since we have such a hope [i. e. of the beneficent fruits of the NT apostolate] we are very bold (*πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα*), (13) not like Moses who put a veil over his face so that the Israelites might not see the end of the fading glory.

The idea of the Apostle is that the intention, or the consequence (64), of the veil Moses put over his face was to hide from the Israelites the passing character of the glory with which his face shone. Paul did not find this idea expressed in the biblical text of Ex 34,29-35, the only OT passage that speaks of the veil of Moses. This passage tells us that Moses veiled his face on two occasions. The first was after he had spoken in God's name to the Israelites after his descent from Sinai (34,33) and

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the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards. We find Greek loan-words already in the Aramaic section of Daniel (3,5) and borrowing must have greatly increased in subsequent ages. Now, though rendered *ad sensum* אשתבהר זיו איקונין דאנפוי means "his features shone", *ad pedem litterae* it means "the *splendour of the ikon* (or image) of *his face shone*" and this was caused from "the *splendour of the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord* the time he was conversing with him"; note how TJI is at pains to bring out the point in his rendering. In 3,18 f. Paul says that "with unveiled face, beholding (or "reflecting" *κατοπτριζόμενοι*) the *Glory of the Lord* are being changed into *his image...*". Seeing that Paul is dependent principally on Ex 33,34 for his doctrine of Christians becoming the image of God through contemplation of the Glory of Christ, it is quite possible that his very use of the term *εἰκών* may have been occasioned by its presence in a similar context in TJI Ex 34,29.

(63) Cf. J. GOETTSBERGER, "Die Hülle des Moses nach Ex 34 und 2 Kor 3", *BZ* 16 (1924) 1-17; S. SCHULZ, "Die Decke des Moses...", *ZNW* 49 (1958) 1-31.

(64) Cf. M. ZERWICK, *Analysis philologica Novi Testamenti Graeci*, Rome 1953, p. 396, *in loc.*; "*πρὸς τὸ μή* c. acc. c. inf.: ne finale (vel consec.: ita ut non?)".

later, habitually, whenever he was neither speaking with God in the Tent of Meeting, nor with the Israelites in the Name of God after coming out from the Tent (34,35 f.). It appears that on other occasions, i. e. during his ordinary converse with his people, Moses had his face veiled. St Paul may have concluded from this that the glory of Moses' face was of a transient nature and required to be renewed each time he went into converse with God in the Tent of Meeting.

This view of the transient nature of the glory of Moses' face may be implicit in *LAB* 19,6 ([65]) which describes Moses death (cf. Dt 34,7) in the following words:

> Et audiens Moyses, repletus est sensu, *et mutata est effigies eius in gloria, et mortuus est in gloria* secundum os Domini et sepelivit eum iuxta quod promiserat ei.

This text may imply that the glory Moses received at Sinai, and of which *LAB* speaks in the text we have already cited further above ([66]), was passing and returned to him just before his death. If such is the case the text of *LAB* is unique, as other Jewish sources, when they do speak of the Glory of Moses' face, appear to imply that it was a lasting one. This seems to be the sense of O, TJII and N in their paraphrase of Dt 34,7 which in the HT says that at Moses' death "his eyes had not dimmed, nor had the natural moistness (לחה) of his body fled". The LXX took the rare word לח = "natural moistness of the body", or "natural force" (RSV) as לחי, rendering as *τὰ χελύνια αὐτοῦ*. TJI does likewise paraphrasing as "his molar teeth had not fallen out"! This latter tradition is found in the Vg's ([67]) rendering *nec dentes ipsius mutati sunt*!

N and TJII, Polyglot, render:

לא אשתנון ([67a]) זיוהון דאפוי. The splendour of his face was not changed.

O translates by the same expression it uses to render "the skin of Moses' face shone" in Ex 34,29 ff., i. e. "the splendour of the glory of his countenance did not change". The permanent character of the glory

([65]) Ed. G. KISCH, p. 166.
([66]) P. 172.
([67]) On the relation of JEROME to the Tgs cf. above n. 38 to Ch. II.
([67a]) Thus TJII; N has אשתניין.

of Moses' face also seems implied in other texts. In Nm 27,20 the Lord tells Moses to lay his hands on Joshua and to invest him with some of his authority. This is rendered in TJI as: "And you shall give from the splendour of (your) glory on him" (ותתן מזיו יקרך עלוי). This text of TJI has a parallel in *Sifre Num.* 140 to Nm 27,20 (68).

The Tgs, then, offer no parallel to the use Paul makes of the veil of Moses. Unless *LAB* bears the sense we think it might, Paul is dependent on some other tradition unknown to us or is drawing his own symbolism directly from the biblical text. W. C. VAN UNNIK thinks that Paul is actually doing just this but that the way was prepared for him in Judaism (69). His conclusions were formulated after his study of the concept of *παρρησία* in Paul.

Παρρησία is a typically Greek concept. Originally it meant the right of the free citizen to express his opinions in the public assembly. Then it can also mean the right to say anything, the courage to declare one's convictions, while in private life it meant that candid intercourse between friends who speak frankly to one another and avoid flattery (70). All these meanings of the term refer to man's dealing with his fellow men. In Jewish-Hellenistic writers we find the Greek word *παρρησία* taken over, but used also of man's relations with God. "A good conscience bound by the will of God as expressed in His law is the ground for this freedom" (71).

(68) Cf. K. G. KUHN, *Sifre zu Numeri übersetzt und erklärt* (Rabbinische Texte, 2 Reihe, Band 2), Stuttgart 1953, p. 13.

(69) For studies on the concept see E. PETERSON, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *παρρησία*" in *Reinhold Seeberg-Festschrift*, vol. I, Leipzig 1929, pp. 283-97 (pp. 289-91 for Jewish-Hellenistic Literature); P. JOÜON, "Divers sense de *parrêsia* dans le Nouveau Testament", *RSR* 30 (1940) 239-42; H. SCHLIER, "*Parrêsia*", *TWNT* 5, pp. 869-84; H. JAEGER, *Parrêsia et fiducia*, Studia Patristica (Texte und Untersuchungen 63), Berlin 1957, pp. 221-239; D. SMOLDERS, "L'audace de l'Apôtre selon s. Paul. Le thème de la parrêsia", *CollMechl* 40 (1958) 16-30; 117-33; W. C. VAN UNNIK, "De semitische Achtergrond van *παρρησία* in het Nieuwe Testament" in *Mededelingen der koninklijke nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, N. Reeks, Deel 25, No. 11, Amsterdam 1962, pp. 583-601 (and separately pp. 1-19); *id.*, "The Christian's Freedom of Speech in the New Testament", *BJRL* 44 (1961-62) 466-88; *id.*, "'With Unveiled Face', an Exegesis of 2 Corinthians iii 12-18", *NT* 6 (1963) 153-69; L. ENGELS, "Fiducia dans la Vulgate. Le problème de traduction *παρρησία-fiducia*" in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum primaeva. Supplementa* fasc. I, Nijmegen 1964, pp. 97-137; S. LYONNET, *o. c.* (note 53), pp. 147-50.

(70) Cf. SCHLIER, *a. c.*, pp. 769-72.

(71) Cf. VAN UNNIK, "The Christian's Freedom of Speech...", p. 471.

The noun *παρρησία* occurs twelve times in the LXX and the corresponding verb *παρρησιάζεσθαι* nine times (72). Only once does *παρρησία* occur in the Pentateuch, i. e. Lv 26,13 where the HT has:

> "I am the Lord your God, who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that you should not be their slaves; and I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you walk *erect* (ואולך אתכם [קוממיות])".

The LXX renders this Hebrew word as (*ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς*) *μετὰ παρρησίας*. W. C. VAN UNNIK (73) does not believe that the LXX has directly influenced the NT usage. He notes that the Greek *παρρησία* was taken over as a loan-word in Aramaic (74), which language, however, has a typical original expression for the same idea, i. e. גלה אפין, lit. "to uncover the face", and גלה ראש "to uncover the head". Several examples can be adduced to show that this expression is synonymous with *παρρησία*. " 'To cover the face' ", VAN UNNIK writes (75), "is a sign of shame and mourning; 'to uncover the head' means confidence and freedom; in the Targumim e. g. 'with uncovered head' has the same meaning as 'in freedom' " (76).

The expression בריש גלי, "with uncovered head" occurs in O, TJI, N to Ex 14,8 and Nm 33,3; 15,30, to render ביד רמה, "with outstretched arm", of the HT. It occurs again in a midrash in Tg Jud 5,9. Ngl to Lv 26,13 now gives another instance of the term to lexicographers (77). We have just seen how this is the sole place in the LXX where the word *παρρησία* occurs, to render קוממיות of the HT. O paraphrases this term

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(72) Cf. SCHLIER, *a. c.*, pp. 872-75; JAEGER, *o. c.*, pp. 221-39; D. MOLLAT, *Introduction in Epistolas Sancti Pauli*, Rome, pp. 182 f.

(73) "The Christian's Freedom of Speach...", p. 472.

(74) For occurrences of this see "De semitische Achtergrond...", pp. 7 (598) ff.; esp. p. 12 (594); *id. a. c.*, *NT* 1963, pp. 160 f.; see also SCHLIER, *a. c.*, p. 877 for this loan-word in rabbinic writings.

(75) *A. c.*, *NT*, 1963, p. 161.

(76) Cf. J. LEVY in *WT*, p. 423 *s. v.* ריש: "eig. mit blossem Haupte, d. h. als freie Menschen; da die Sklaven in Gegenwart ihres Herrn bedeckten Hauptes gehen mussten".

(77) Another example of ריש גלי in the Tgs, noted by J. BASSFREUND (*Das Fragmenten-Targum zum Pentateuch...*, Breslau 1896, p. 33 = *MGWJ* 40 1896 66) but unrecorded by lexicographers is TJII (and now N) to Gn 40,18. As usual it refers to the Exodus from Egypt. The phrase is also found in the Mekilta to Ex 14,18.

as לחירותא, "to liberty"; TJI and N render literally, "in erect posture". Ngl has the following paraphrase:

ודברת יתכון בקומה... ... And I led you forth in erect
זקיפה ובראש גלי. posture and with head uncovered.

This marginal gloss is most probably drawn from some PT MS extant in the 16th century and since lost (78). I have been unable to trace the source of the gloss. It is not found, as we saw, in TJI, N or O. Neither is it listed in the PT citations given by M. GINSBURGER (79) nor in the PT citations of the *Aruk* (80).

In PT texts, then, we find at least four occurrences of בריש גלי, "with head uncovered", a phrase — as J. LEVY notes in his Targumic Dictionary (80a) — that indicates the characteristic of free men and sets them apart from slaves who walked in the presence of their masters with heads covered. If we accept the view of W. C. VAN UNNIK on the equivalence of *παρρησία* and בריש גלי, "with uncovered head", we can more easily understand how the Apostle passes so easily from the word *παρρησία* in 2 Cor 3,12 to mention of Moses covering his face in the verses that follow.

VAN UNNIK gives his understanding of the passage in these words (81):

> This "unveiling of the head or the face" comprises openness, confidence and boldness. How different was the behaviour of Moses! What he did was in the symbolic language of Paul's time first a sign of shame and bondage... Moses was hiding the transient glory; he was not open but purposely kept something secret.

4. *The veil removed by conversion* (82): In the verses which we have just considered, Paul has recalled that Moses placed a veil over his face so that the Israelites could not see the end of the fading glory of his face

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(78) On the glosses of N see above, n. 26 to ch. II.

(79) In *Das Fragmententhargum*, pp. 99 ff.

(80) In KOHUT's *Index ad citata biblica, targumica, talmudica et midrashica*, Vienna 1892, pp. 18 ff. Neither does it figure in the exhaustive collection of PT citations given by BASSFREUND, *o. c.*, pp. 17-19.

(80a) *WT s. v.* גלי, p. 141, see also n. 76 above.

(81) "With Unveiled Face...", p. 161.

(82) Cf. OEPKE, *"kalumma"*, *TWNT* 3 (1938) 560-62; R. LE DÉAUT, "Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus Paulinien?", *Bib* 42 (1961) 28-48; pp. 43-47 for 2 Cor 3,10.

(2 Cor 3,12 f.). The Apostle now applies the symbolism of the veil to the public reading of the Law (= Moses), and then to the heart of the individual Israelite.

> But their minds were hardened; for to this day the same veil remains when the Old Testament is read; it is not lifted as only in Christ is it taken away (or "it has not been revealed that in Christ has it been taken away"; *μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται·*) (14).
>
> Yet to this day whenever Moses is read a veil lies over their hearts (15).
>
> But when a man (lit. "when one") turns to the Lord the veil is removed (16). *ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλλυμα.*

The last verse is clearly a reference to Ex 34,34. That such is so becomes clear by placing the LXX text of 34,34 and 3,16 together:

LXX: *ἡνίκα δ' ἂν εἰσεπορεύετο Μωϋσῆς ἔναντι Κυρίου λαλεῖν αὐτῷ περιῃρεῖτο τὸ κάλλυμα*

Paul: *ἡνίκα δε εἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς Κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλλυμα*

In both cases *κύριος* appears without the article. It appears that Paul is keeping close to the account of the definitive promulgation of the Law of Moses and is showing how the manner in which this is recounted in the biblical texts and versions teaches how Israel can now be converted. Authors are divided on the meaning Paul gives to *κύριος* in 16. Some take it that the word means "God" as in the OT text; others prefer to understand it as "Christ". The point should hardly be pressed. Paul is using the midrashic method, not propounding precise Trinitarian doctrine. His use of the term *κύριος* is determined by its presence in Ex 34,34. "To turn to the Lord" in the true sense will also mean acceptance of the Person and mission of Christ.

While Paul refers to Ex 34,34 he does not cite the passage exactly. The OT passage speaks of Moses going in (HT בבא: LXX: *εἰσεπορεῦετο*) before the Lord to receive an oracle; Paul speaks of one turning (*ἐπιστρέψῃ*) to the Lord. Strictly speaking 3,16 could refer to Moses' entry into the Tent, which Paul would then take here as a symbol of Israel's conversion to God ([83]). Seeing that the preceding verse (15) speaks of the veil

([83]) This is the manner in which J. GOETTSBERGER, "Die Hülle des Moses...", *BZ* 16 (1924) 1-17 and S. SCHULZ, "Die Decke des Moses...", *ZNW* 49 (1958)

over the hearts of the Israelites, it is better to take 16 as referring to the "turning" of the individual Israelite to God (84). The expression "turn to the Lord" occurs only twice elsewhere in the NT (Act 9,35; 11,21) (85) and on each occasion it means conversion. It is best given this same sense in 2 Cor 3,16: i. e. as often as an individual Israelite is converted, the veil that hung over his heart and kept him from seeing the Law in true perspective is removed.

We come now to see whether this portion of Paul's midrash was prepared in Jewish thought. The Tgs to Ex 34,34 are no help as they do not go beyond the HT. It is quite possible that Paul is thinking of the manner in which some passage parallel to Ex 34,34 was viewed in Jewish tradition. R. LE DÉAUT (86) has shown that TJI Ex 33,7 f. presents a paraphrase that parallels 2 Cor 3,16. The biblical text to Ex 33,7 ff. reads:

> Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp, far from the camp; and he called it the tent of meeting. And everyone who sought the Lord (LXX: *πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν κύριον*) would go out to the tent of meeting which was outside the camp. (8) Whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people rose up, and every man stood at the tent door, and looked after Moses, until he had gone into the tent. (9) When Moses entered the tent the pillar of cloud would ascend and stand at the door of the tent, and (the Lord) would speak with Moses. (10) And when all the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the door of the tent all the people would rise up and worship, every man standing at his tent door. (11) Thus the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend.

Now there are good indications that Paul has this OT passage in mind. Immediately before the passage cited, in 33,5, God has called the Israelites a stiffnecked people. Though not strict exegesis, it would be

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1-31, understand the text. OEPKE, *a. c.*, p. 561, understands the passage in the same manner. So also does E. B. ALLO, *Seconde épitre aux Corinthiens* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1956, p. 93.

(84) This is how most commentaries interpret the verse; cf. H. WINDISCH, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (*Meyer's Comment.* VI, 9th ed.), Göttingen 1924, pp. 123 f. where further references to commentators' views can be seen.

(85) The actual phrase in Act 9,35; 11,21 is: *ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*; on the word cf. BERTRAM *TWNT* 7 (fasc. 11-12, 1963), pp. 722-29, esp. 728.

(86) *A. c.* note 82 above, pp. 45-47.

quite natural to see the visit of the individual Israelite "to seek the Lord" as a break with this hardness of heart. In 3,14 Paul said of the Israelites that their minds were hardened (*ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν*). This refers to the Israelites of Moses' time rather than to those of Paul's day, seeing that the Apostle says this hardness lasted *ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*. This would appear to indicate that in 3,16 the Apostle's thought has shifted from Ex 34,29 ff. to Ex 33,5 ff.

We can now turn to the PT to see how it understands these verses. O and N can be omitted as these have no significant addition to the HT. N paraphrases "a stiffnecked people", here as throughout its rendering of the Torah ([87]), as "a people who receive the teaching of the Law with difficulty". It likewise renders "to seek the Lord" as "to seek instruction from before the Lord". TJI (London MS f. 95 ab), on the contrary, presents an interesting paraphrase. It renders the verses relevant for our purpose as follows — (italics denote the biblical text paraphrased: bold type parallels to the NT):

ואמר יי למשה	5) *And the Lord said to Moses*:
אימר לבני ישראל	*"Speak to the children of Israel*:
אתון עם קשי קדל	*'You are a stiffnecked people'*;
שעא חדא קלילא איסלק	were I to cause the Glory of my
איקר שכינתי מבינך	Shekinah to go up from amongst
	you, in a very short time (lit.
	'in one little hour')"
ואישיצינך ...	I would destroy you...
ברם ית משכנא נסב מתמן	7) ... *the tent he took from there*
ופרסיה ליה מברא למשריתא ...	*and spread it outside the camp...
הוה קרי ליה משכן	and he called it the tent* of the
בית אולפנא והוי כל מאן	house of consultation. *And every-
דהדר בתתובא	one that used to return* in **repen-
בלב שלים קדם יי הוה נפיק	tance in a perfect heart** *used to
למשכן בית אולפנא	go out to the tent of the* house of
דמברא למשריתא מודי	consultation *that was outside the

([87]) N, we may recall, generally translates Hebrew words and phrases in the same manner throughout the entire rendering; cf. above p. 63.

על חוביה ומצלי על	*camp* **confessing his guilt and**
חוביה ומצלי	**praying on account of his guilt,**
ומשתבק ליה.	and praying he was forgiven.
והוה כד הוה נפיק	8) *And when Moses used to go out*
משה מן משריתא ואזל למשכנא	from the camp to go out *to the tent*
קיימין כל רשיעי עמא	*all* the wicked ones of *the people*
ומתעתדין גבר בתרע	*arose and stood, each man at the*
משכניה ומסתכלין	*door of his tent, and they used to*
בעינא בישא אחורי משה	*look* with the evil eye *after Moses*
עד זמן מיעליה למשכנא.	*until the time he went into the tent.*

The paraphrase of TJI to 33,7 f. depends on 33,5 where the Israelites are called a stiffnecked people which the Presence of the Lord cannot accompany. The camp is taken as the home of wickedness. Those who forsook evil and turned in repentance to God left the camp and went out to the Lord in the tent of Meeting. This same view colours TJI's rendering of v. 8 which is taken to mean that those who looked after Moses from within the camp were the wicked ones of the people. TJI to Ex 33,7, then, takes "turning to the Lord" in precisely the same sense as does 2 Cor 3,16. The coincidence seems to indicate that this paraphrase of TJI was known to the Apostle and has occasioned the text of 2 Cor 3,16. It may not be amiss to note that this same paraphrase of TJI may have prepared the symbolism of Heb 13,13. In this text the Author tells his Jewish readers of weak faith to "go forth to Jesus outside the camp", the camp symbolizing the practices of Judaism which they are invited to forsake once for all ([88]).

From what we have seen of the portions of TJI not found in any other PT text, we have no difficulty in taking this particular one to Ex 33,5 ff. as pre-Christian. The relation of such passages proper to TJI with the NT appears, in fact, to be the best way of determining the age of many of them.

([88]) See the commentaries to Heb 13,13, e. g. C. SPICQ, *L'Épître aux Hébreux* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1953, 427 f, who notes the allegorical use made by PHILO (*De Gig.* 54) of Ex 33,7. C. SPICQ writes: "Cette rupture de toute attache religieuse avec le passé juif n'est qu'une condition négative pour rejoindre Jésus-Christ entré et séjournant dans le sanctuaire céleste — le premier tabernacle était hors du camps, *Ex* XXXIII, 7" (*o. c.*, p. 428).

5. *The Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor 3,17 and TJI Nm 7,89; Ex 33,11.20)* [89]: The Pauline passage which we have just considered continues:

> Now the Lord is the Spirit and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom (3,17), *ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν. οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία.*

In comparison with this verse the preceding and following ones are relatively easy. What does Paul mean when he affirms that *ὁ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν*? Who is the Lord whom he says is the Spirit? Is it the Lord of the passage of Exodus as Chrysostom and other Greek Fathers thought? Seeing that in Paul "the Lord" ordinarily means Christ, most exegetes take it in this sense in 2 Cor 3,17. But how can Christ be said to be the Holy Spirit (*τὸ πνεῦμα*)? The view of many non-Catholics that the text considers the Spirit as none other than the Risen and Glorious Saviour runs counter to Pauline doctrine in general as well as to the nature of the present context which speaks of the understanding of the true place of the Mosaic dispensation rather than the precise relations of Christ and the Spirit [90]. F. PRAT [91] has popularized the view that *τὸ πνεῦμα* does not mean "the Holy Spirit", the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity but rather "the true meaning of the O.T." *ὁ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά*

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[89] Cf. U. HOLZMEISTER, *II Cor* 3,17: *Dominus autem Spiritus est*, Innsbruck 1908; C. LATTEY, "Dominus autem Spiritus est" 2 Cor 3,17b)", *VD* 20 (1940) 187 f. and M. ZERWICK's note to same, *ibid.*, pp. 189 f.; P. GAECHTER, "Zum Pneumabegriff des hl. Paulus", *ZKT* 53 (1929) 345-408; K. PRÜMM, "Israels Kehr zum Geist 2 Kor 3,17a im Verständnis der Erstleser", *ZKT* 72 (1950) 385-442; *id.*, "Gal und 2 Kor — Ein lehrgehaltlicher Vergleich", *Bib* 31 (1950) 27-72; *id.* "Die katholische Auslegung von 2 Kor 3,17s in den letzen vier Jahrzehnten nach ihren Hauptrichtungen", *ibid.* pp. 316-45; 459-82; 32 (1951) 1-24; S. LYONNET, "S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie et 2 Cor 3,17", *Bib* 32 (1951) 25-31; B. SCHNEIDER, "*Dominus autem Spiritus est*" (*II Cor* 3,17*a*), *Studium exegeticum*, Rome 1951; *id.* "The Meaning of St. Paul's Antithesis 'The Letter and the Spirit'", *CBQ* 15 (1953) 163-207; P. GRECH, "2 Corinthians 3/17 and the Pauline Doctrine of Conversion to the Holy Spirit", *CBQ* 17 (1955) 420-37; P. GALETTO, "'Dominus autem Spiritus est'" *RivBibItal* 5 (1957) 254-81; I. HERMANN, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, Munich 1961; J. SCHILDENBERGER, '2 Kor 3,17*a*: "Der Herr aber ist der Geist" im Zusammenhang des Textes und der Theologie des hl. Paulus', in *Studiorum paulinorum congressus internationalis catholicus 1961*, Rome 1963 (Analecta Biblica 17-18), vol. I, pp. 451-60.

[90] Cf. D. MOLLAT, *o. c.*, p. 187, referring to L. CERFAUX, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul*, p. 221 and *Le Chrétien dans la théologie paulinienne*, p. 244, n. 7.

[91] *La théologie de saint Paul II*, (Bibliothèque de théologie historique), new ed., Paris 1961, pp. 522-29.

ἐστιν would then mean: Christ is "le sens spirituel et prophétique caché sous la lettre" (92). The view scarcely does full justice to the context, despite the fact of the antithesis letter/spirit that runs through it. "The spirit that gives life" (3,6; cf. 3,8) contains a direct reference to the Holy Spirit.

L. CERFAUX (93) envisages the possibility of a loose identification of "the Lord" and "the Spirit", in the fashion of a *pesher*. Having mentioned how Moses veiled his face and how the Israelites read the Law without understanding it L. CERFAUX continues: (94)

> S'ils voulaient la comprendre, ils devreient imiter Moïse qui, lorsqu'il retournait vers le Seigneur, enlevait son voile; ils devraient retourner, se convertir au Seigneur et le voile de leurs cœurs tomberait. Car "le Seigneur", dont parle ce texte, signifie l'Esprit qui donnerait l'intelligence de l'Écriture et en même temps la liberation de la Loi. L'Esprit est tout cela.

This seems to be the best approach to the problem. St Paul is expressing his thought in a midrash on the veil of Moses and it is quite possible that his expression is here determined by certain elements in an earlier understanding of Ex 33 - 34, or some other parallel passage, which lies before his mind. Before we set ourselves to determine the meaning of the NT text, it is better to see whether the sources he appears to be conversant with in the earlier part of the midrash have any parallel to offer to "the Lord is the Spirit".

In this quest we naturally turn to the PT, and to TJI in particular, which rendering we have already seen to be probably connected with 2 Cor 3,16, — the verse immediately preceding the difficult one under discussion! The parallel in the case of 3,16 was from TJI Ex 33,5 ff. If parallel there be to 3,17 one would think it would be from the verses following on this

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(92) *Ibid.*, p. 527.

(93) *Le Chrétien dans la théologie paulinienne* (Lectio Divina), Paris 1962, pp. 244 f; cf. also *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (Lectio Divina 6), Paris 1951, pp. 221 f.; Eng. trans. by G. WEBB and A. WALKER, *Christ in the Theology of Saint Paul*, Freiburg i. B., 1959, pp. 293 f.

(94) *Le Chrétien* ... pp. 244 f. In n. 7 to "le Seigneur ... signifie l'Esprit" of p. 244 he writes: "On peut comprendre soit comme une exégèse à la mode du *pesher* (le "Seigneur" du texte représente l'Esprit), soit comme une équivalence vague du Seigneur (Jésus) avec l'Esprit en tant que le Seigneur nous introduit dans la sphère spirituelle".

passage of Exodus. Such actually is the case, but the parallel from TJI Ex 33,11.20 will become much clearer when we have considered another one from TJI Nm 7,89, a text that refers to the same circumstances as Ex 33,9-11 as H. CAZELLES [95] has noted.

Nm 7 recounts how the tent of meeting was erected. The final verse (7,89) narrates how Moses conversed with God in the Tabernacle after it had been set up. This verse of Nm 7 is an exact parallel to Ex 33,7 ff. and Ex 34,34 f. which tell us of Moses' relation with God in the same place. The HT of Nm 7,89 has:

> And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with the Lord, he heard *the Voice* (הקול) speaking with him from above the mercy-seat that was on the ark of the testimony from between the two cherubim and it spoke with him.

The verse is paraphrased in TJI (London MS f. 149 a) in the following manner [95a] (italics indicate additional paraphrase):

וכד עליל משה למשכן	And when Moses went into the tent of
זימנא למללא עמיה ושמע ית	meeting to speak with him, he heard
קל רוחא דמתמלל	the Voice *of the* **Spirit** that conversed
עמיה כד נחית מן	with him *when it descended from the*
שמי שמיא עילוי כפורתא	*highest heavens* above the mercy-seat
דעל ארונא דסהדותא	above the ark of the testimony
מבין תרין כרוביא	from between the two cherubim and
ומתמן הוה דבירא מתמלל עמיה.	from there *the Word* conversed with him.

In the HT the "Voice" that spoke with Moses was God himself. TJI paraphrases this as "the Voice of the Spirit". "The Spirit" here means nothing else than "God considered as revealing himself to man". This is one of the meanings attached to "the Spirit" or to "the Holy Spirit" in

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[95] See his note (*b*) to Nm 7,89 in *Les Nombres* (BJ), Paris 1958, p. 51.

[95a] The relevant portion of TJI Nm 7,89 is cited by Str.-B., III, p. 175 to Rm 3,25, to illustrate that "Die Kapporeth ist die Stätte der göttlichen Offenbarung". No explanation is given of the presence of "(the voice of) the Spirit" in TJI while it is absent from the other PT texts. The other citations of TJI Nm 7,89 noted in Str.-B's index do not carry the passage referring to the Spirit.

Judaism; another meaning, not completely distinct from this, is that of divine inspiration. H. PARZEN has made a study of the Holy Spirit in Tannaitic literature, and among other things, surmises that, at times, the expression is used to avoid mention of the Tetragrammaton. He has the following pertinent words to say on its connection with divine theophanies (96):

> A corollary of the conception that the Ruaḥ Haḳodesh is a metonomy for God is the further definition of it as "the Presence of God". That is to say, just as this phrase is frequently a denominative for the Tetragrammaton so is it at times a designation for a theophany, the manifestation of God to man at a definite designated place.

Presenting oneself at a definite place appointed by God, i. e. a Yetsiba, is in fact connected in a rabbinic axiom with the Holy Spirit: **אין יציבא בכל מקום אלא רוח הקודש** (97).

Another name for God as he communicated his will to man, or for revelation, is "Dibbera", "Dibbura" or "the Word" (**דבורא**) (98). This can be considered the same as "the Spirit" or "the Holy Spirit" and is in fact used by TJI in the above paraphrase: "from between the two cherubim the Word (or "Dibbera") spoke with him" (Moses). N's rendering of Nm 7,89 also uses *Dibbera* (a synonym of Dibbura) twice, and translates as follows — italics denote additional paraphrase:

> And when Moses used to go in to the tent of meeting to speak with him, he used to hear the Voice *of the Word* ("Dibbera",

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(96) "The Ruaḥ Haḳodesh in Tannaitic Literature", *JQR* NS 20 (1929-30) 51-76; our text occurs in p. 62. The reader will find the same view of the relation of the "Holy Spirit" to the "Presence" or Shekinah in G. F. MOORE, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology. Memra, Shekinah, Metaron", *HTR* 15 (1922) 41-59, esp. p. 58 where he gives two texts to illustrate the point. One is from the *Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber, *Shemoth* 10, f. 3a) where it is said that until the temple was destroyed the Shekinah was placed in the temple (Ps 114), but that *after the destruction the Shekinah ascended to heaven.* With this he compares Koheleth Rabbah on Eccl 12,7 (end): "When Jeremiah saw that Jerusalem was destroyed, and the temple burned, and Israel gone into Exile and *the Holy Spirit taken up...*" Cf. also L. GINZBERG, *Legends*, V, p. 289.

(97) Cf. H. PARZEN, *a. c.*, p. 62.

(98) For the usages of this word cf. W. BACHER, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* I, Leipzig 1899, pp. 18,20; II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 36 f.; the view expressed in Str.-B. (II, pp. 316-19) that the word is taken over by Aramaic from 3rd cent. (A.D.) rabbinic Heb. cannot be accepted.

דבירה) speaking with him from above the mercy-seat that was on the ark of the testimony; from between the two cherubim, from there *the Word* ("Dibbera") used speak with him.

From Nm 7,89 we may now return to TJI's rendering of Ex 33,11, a passage, we may recall, that follows immediately on one related to 2 Cor 3,16. The HT paraphrases has:

> Thus the Lord used speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend.

This OT text is from a different source from Ex 33,23 where God tells Moses that he would see his back, but his face would not be seen. In the light of this verse O,N and TJI render the above phrase of Ex 33,11 as: "And the Lord spoke to Moses, speech to speech..." TJI, however, adds the following additional paraphrase—(italics indicate the biblical text):

קל דבורא הוה שמע	He used to hear the Voice of the
ברם זיו	Word ("Dibbura") but the Glory of
אפין לא הוה חמי	the countenance he used not see,
היכמא דממליל גבר עם חבריה	as *a man speaks with his friend.*
ומן בתר דאסתלק קל דבורא	And after the Voice of the Word
תאיב	("Dibbura") had ascended he return-
למשריתא ומתני פתגמיא	ed to the camp and related the words
לכנישתהון דישראל.	to the congregation of Israel.

Here there is question only of the Dibbura, which, as we have seen, is the same concept as that of "the Spirit" of TJI Nm 7,89. TJI Ex 33,16 has a text that clarifies TJI Nm 7,89. In Ex 33,16 Moses says to God:

> For how shall it be known that I have found favour in thy sight, I and thy people? Is it not in thy going with us, so that we are distinct, I and thy people, from all the people that are on the face of the earth?

N, the only PT text extant apart from TJI, renders this verse literally, except that in its usual way it replaces "thy going" with "the going of the glory of thy Shekinah". TJI (London MS f. 96 a) has a longer and midrashic paraphrase which we give here, indicating the biblical text by italics and the passage that interests us by bold type:

> "*And now, how is it to be known that I have found mercy before you, I and your people, except in the* converse of your

> Shekinah *with us?* And distinguishing signs shall be wrought for us when **you withhold the spirit of prophecy from the nations and shall speak in the Holy Spirit** (ותהי מתמלל ברוח קודשא) **to me and to your people by** which *we shall be made different from all the nations that are on the face of the earth".*

Underlying this paraphrase there probably stands the belief we find in rabbinic writings that before the erection of the Tabernacle in the wilderness all nations had prophetic revelations from God, but that from that time onwards revealed truth was the privilege of Israel alone (99). In TJI these revelations are considered to be the speaking by the Holy Spirit to Moses and to the people of Israel. It is the same view that we have seen in TJI Nm 7,89. We should note how in TJI Ex 33,16 not only Moses but all Israel is said to have converse with the Holy Spirit. This paraphrase may refer back to Ex 33,7 where everyone who sought the Lord is said to have gone out from the camp to the tent of meeting.

We may sum up the evidence of TJI thus: the Lord with whom Moses and Israel conversed in the tent of meeting is said to be "the Spirit" (Nm 7,89) or "the Holy Spirit" (Ex 33,16). The bearing of these texts on 2 Cor 3,17 is evident. In 3,16 Paul has said that whenever an Israelite turns in repentance to the Lord the veil is taken away. We have seen how the text is probably dependent on TJI Ex 33,7 and that "the Lord" (κύριος) is probably "the Lord" referred to in the text of Exodus, rather than Christ; though conversion to Christ is also implied by the nature of things. When in the very following verse Paul says abruptly "the Lord is the Spirit", an identification which we find in TJI Ex 33,16 and in its parallel passage TJI Nm 7,89, it is hard to believe that the Apostle is not here still in dependence on the liturgical understanding of Israel's relation with God in the tent of meeting as expressed in TJI. In TJI the Lord is the Spirit in so far as he reveals God's will to Israel. For Paul this same Lord who is the Spirit will now fulfil the same function each time one turns to him by conversion. The Spirit will show him the true place of the Mosaic dispensation in God's plan; he will likewise give him the power to live according to God's will because he is a lifegiving

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(99) Cf., e. g., *Lev. R.* on Lv 1,1 (in A. WÜNSCHE's German translation, Leipzig 1884, p. 8) and see KAUFMANN KOHLER, "Revelation", in *JE* 10 (1907) 397. With the words of TJI cited above we may compare Act 10,44-48; 11,15-18 which narrates that Peter recognized God had chosen the Gentiles by the fact that they received the Holy Spirit as the Jews had.

Spirit (3,6.8), and where this Spirit is there is liberty (3,17), a liberty that the letter of the Law excluded rather than bestowed.

We may say then that by "the Lord" (ὁ κύριος) of 2 Cor 3,17 Paul means the Lord of Moses and Israel of which the preceding verses and the targumic paraphrase, or the midrash, which he has been using speaks. When he affirms that this Lord is the Spirit he will mean that this same Person is considered in the same paraphrase as such. This does not exclude reference to Christ in "the Lord"; in Paul's day conversion would necessarily imply acceptance of Christ and his work. It appears, however, that Paul is thinking of the Lord mentioned in the midrash he is presumably using rather than directly of Christ. The Spirit in the paraphrases we have considered was, of course, God himself. For Paul the Spirit was the Person and his office, as Christian revelation had revealed him.

Chapter VII

A STUDY OF CERTAIN THEMES IN THE PALESTINIAN TARGUM AND IN THE APOCALYPSE

In the fourth chapter we have considered the bearing of the Tgs on such phrases of the Apocalypse as the divine Name "who is, who was, and who is to come" and the "second death". We have seen that in the latter case the author of the Apocalypse has probably passed from the OT text to the manner in which this was considered and paraphrased in the liturgical rendering. The first text indicates that John has the liturgical rendering of the biblical account of the Exodus in mind and adopts the form of the divine Name he has found there when he speaks of the events of the New Exodus of salvation.

Seeing that the Exodus motif runs through his entire work, it is but natural to expect that other contacts between it and the account of God's dealing with his people at the Red Sea and during the desert wanderings can be ascertained. If 1 Cor 10,1 ff. and 2 Tm 3,8 can make use of midrashim from the Exodus period, midrashim found in the PT, one may expect to find many more such in the Apocalypse.

For this reason we devote an entire chapter to passages from the Apocalypse which seem to show that the rendering of the PT as we now have it was known to John and has played its part in the imagery and language of his writing.

In the present chapter we enter one of the most difficult problems connected with this NT writing, viz. the origin of the symbolism of the Apocalypse (1). We hope to show that the relation between TJI and

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(1) Cf. Foerster, *"astêr"*, *TWNT* I (1933) pp. 501 f.; Kittel, *"aggelos" ibid.*, pp. 85 f.; A. Fabre, "L'Ange et le chandelier d'Ephese", *RB* 7 (1910) 161-76; 344-67; *id.* "L'Étoile du matin dans l'Apocalypse", *RB* 5 (1908) 227-40; V. Burchs, *Anthropology and the Apocalypse. An Interpretation of the "Book of Revelation" in Relation to the Archaeology, Folklore, and Religious Literature and Ritual of the*

the Apocalypse in the texts here studied will indicate that the PT, in particular TJI, has a contribution to make towards a solution of the question.

I. The Symbolism of the Apocalypse according to the School of Comparative Religion (2)

It is but to be expected that the similarity of the symbolism used in the Apocalypse with the imagery of oriental religions, cosmologies and astrologies should not pass unnoticed to those interested in the comparative study of religions. The resemblances led students of the school of comparative religion to seek the origins of the symbolism of John in the imagery of the religion of Babylon, Egypt, Iran, Greece and even in that of the Mandaeans. Recourse was had to the astrology, astronomy and folk-beliefs of one, other or several of these peoples in an effort to determine the origin of the symbolism of the NT writing, which presumed origin was often used to determine the sense of the work of John.

During the latter part of the last century this comparative method centred its attention on chapter twelve of the work, whose imagery and content were seen to represent the ideas current in these mythologies. H. GUNKEL devoted his well-known work, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (3), to a consideration of this chapter alone. His view on the chapter naturally affected his position on other passages of the Apocalypse as well. The

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Near East, London 1939; F. J. H. HORT, *The Apocalypse of St. John I-III. The Greek Text with Introduction, Commentary and Additional Notes*, London 1908; L. POIRIER, O.F.M., *Les sept églises ou le premier septénaire prophétique de l'Apocalypse*, (Dissertation. The Catholic University of America New Testament Series No. 78), Washington 1943, esp. pp. 35-50; Y. M.-J. CONGAR, O.P., *Le mystère du Temple* (Lectio Divina 22), Paris 1958 esp. "Sens cosmique du Temple" (pp. 119-26); "L'Apocalypse. Le Temple eschatologique" (pp. 239-75, with lit. p. 239, n. 5); P. GRELOT, *Sens chrétien de l'ancien Testament. Esquisse d'un traité dogmatique* (Bibliothèque de théologie, sér. I, vol 3), Paris 1962, esp. pp. 210-14 and see "table analytique" *s. vv.* "Symbolisme" and "Temple". See also the commentaries to Ap 1,12.16.21; Str.-B. III, pp. 716 f. to Heb 9,2.

(2) Cf. A. FEUILLET, C.S.S., "Les diverses méthodes d'interprétation de l'Apocalypse et les commentaires récents", *L'Ami du Clergé* 8th Ser. 71 (1961) 257-70; for "La méthode comparatiste" pp. 266-68; cf. also E. B. ALLO, *L'Apocalypse*, Paris, 2nd. ed. 1921, pp. CCXLVI f.; 3rd ed. 1933, pp. CCLXVIII-CCLXX.

(3) *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. I und Ap. Joh. XII*, Göttingen 1894, 2nd ed. 1921.

same is true of the works of A. DIETRICH (4), A. JEREMIAS (5) and others (6).

In 1914 F. BOLL (7) went further and saw the origin of the symbolism of almost the entire work in astral mythology, originating in Babylon but having spread over the Graeco-Roman world by the first Christian century. The work of F. BOLL made its influence felt on the later commentaries of A. LOISY (8) and E. LOHMEYER (9). F. E. ALLO (10), while making reserves on a number of the parallels adduced by F. BOLL (11), was at first impressed by a number of them as is evident from the second edition of his classic commentary on the Apocalypse. In 1929 J. FREUNDORFER (12) devoted a monograph to the thesis of F. BOLL, showing that many of his comparisons were fanciful and others quite inexact. The profound study of FREUNDORFER so impressed ALLO (13) that he went back on some of the positions he had earlier adopted on the presence of the astrological motif in the Apocalypse.

Apart from the merely exterior, and sometimes inexact, character of many of the parallels adduced, the weakness of the comparative method is that it sought to establish a direct relation between a biblical writer and pagan mythologies. This is to forget the intense biblical colouring of the NT work (14). Intrinsically, it is highly improbable that the inspired writer should pass from the imagery of God's relation with his chosen people to that of the astral deities of pagan religions.

There is nothing improbable in the presumption that the Seer of Patmos should use the imagery of the astronomy of his day, of course.

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(4) *Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums*, Leipzig 1891.

(5) *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 34-35.

(6) E. g. H. LIETZMANN, *Der Weltheiland*, Bonn 1909; E. NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1931; cf. A. FEUILLET, *a. c.*, p. 266; ALLO, *l. c.*

(7) *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis; hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse*, = *Stoicheia* 1, Leipzig-Berlin, 1914.

(8) *L'Apocalypse de Jean*, Paris 1923.

(9) *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Lietzmann's Handbuch), Tübingen 1926; cf. A. FEUILLET, *a. c.* p. 267.

(10) In his review of BOLL's work *RB* 30 (1921) 284-88.

(11) Cf. above n. 2 (end.).

(12) *Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie*, Freiburg i. B. 1929 (= *Biblische Studien* 23,1).

(13) In his review of FREUNDORFER's work in *RB* 39 (1930) 599-602; cf. esp. p. 602.

(14) See the literature noted in ch. IV, n. 1 above; cf. also R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, pp. 333-36 and the works noted there.

The most natural source of this imagery will, however, be the Jewish religion of the period rather than the mythologies of the surrounding paganism. His entire work is steeped in the OT and in Jewish religion and we should turn to this latter, rather than to pagan religions, when we encounter a text with an astrological colouring. The example we are now to consider seems to indicate that some, at least, of such texts can be explained by Judaism, in particular by the manner in which TJI attaches a symbolic significance to certain cult objects of the Tabernacle.

II. Ap 1,12.16.20 and TJI Ex 39,37; 40,4

1. *Text and interpretation of Ap 1,12.16.20*: In the introduction which he prefixes to his letters to the seven churches of Asia John informs his readers that their contents were dictated to him by the Risen Saviour who directed the activities of their congregations from heaven. John writes:

> I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet (11) saying: "Write what you see in a book and send it to the seven churches..." (12) Then I turned to see the voice that was speaking to me, and on turning I saw *seven golden lampstands* (ἑπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς), (13) and in the midst of the lampstands one like a son of man... (16) in his right hand he held seven stars (ἀστέρας)... and he said to me... "... (20) As for the mystery of the seven stars which you saw in my right hand, and the seven golden lampstands, the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches and the seven lampstands are the seven churches".

The seven golden lampstands are conceived as being separated from one another, since the Son of Man was between them (1,13) and walked among them (2,1). Solomon set up ten lampstands (HT: מנרות) of pure gold, five on the south side and five on the north of the inner sanctuary of the temple (1 Kgs 7,49). The text of the Apocalypse recalls the single seven-branched lampstand of the Tabernacle of the desert (Ex 25,37; 37,17-24; 39,37; 40,4; Lv 24,2-4; Nm 8,2) rather than these of the Temple of Solomon. Each of the branches of this lampstand bore a lamp (λύχνος), and we can presume that the lampstands of the Apocalypse, whether we understand these as separate or merely as the branches of the seven-branched lampstand, did the same. As the lampstand represents the Churches, one

would expect to find the lamps, rather than seven stars, used to symbolize the angels of these churches ([15]).

2. *Exegetes' views on the symbolism of Ap 1,12 ff.*: It is assumed by many commentators that the seven stars here signify the seven planets known to the ancients ([16]), i. e. Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn together with the sun and the moon; (cf. PHILO, *Quis rer. div. her.* 45, 221). This astral origin of the symbolism used by John is interpreted in various ways by expositors of the text. As an extreme representative of the Comparative Religion School, J. LEPSIUS explains our text as follows:

> The first vision of the Revelation, the Son of Man who holds the seven stars, that is, the seven planets, in his hand, utters with the impressive power of symbolic language the first message which is given to the seer of the Revelation: Jesus, the Son of God, is raised to the throne of the Cosmos, the planet-gods who were worshipped by all the world are in His hand, the spirits of the stars have become His servants and have lost their right of sovereignty over the earth. The attributes and powers of the pagan gods, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Moon and Sun, have passed over to the Son of Man; adorned with their lustre He appears in celestial splendour to His mortally terrified disciple... ([17]).
>
> The seven candlesticks are the seven congregations of Asia Minor... The seven congregations, according to the astrological point of view that underlies the vision, are under the astral influence of the seven planet-spirits, who on their side again are represented as the bearers of the sevenfold power of the Holy Ghost ([18]).

([15]) Cf. FOERSTER, *TWNT* I, p. 502 and KITTEL, *ibid.* p. 86.

([16]) See the commentaries *in loc.*

([17]) "Dr. Johann Lepsius on the Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse. Translated by Helena Ramsay, with Introduction and Noted by Professor Sir W. M. Ramsay", *The Expositor*, 8th Series, 1 (1911) 160-80; 212-16; 461-73; 504-19; cf. also H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, "Notes on Dr. Lepsius, Interpretation of the Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse", *ibid.* pp. 375-80. The text cited occurs on p. 170.

([18]) *Ibid.* p. 171.

It has not escaped the notice of earlier and modern commentators [19], of course, that both PHILO and JOSEPHUS take the seven branched lampstand of the temple as a symbol of the seven planets. Both these writers are interested in bringing out the cosmic significance of the Jewish temple, of its cult objects and its worship. In *BJ* 4, 5, 2 § 324 JOSEPHUS says that the priests, dressed in their sacred vestments "offered the cosmic cult". He takes the four-coloured veil of the temple to be an image of the universe (*BJ* 5, 5, 4 § 212). PHILO speaks of the cosmic significance of the vestments of the priest and of his prayers (*VM* II [III], 117-135: *Spec. Leg.* I, 82-97 § 168).

On the symbolism of the seven-branched lampstand PHILO writes (*Quis rer. div. her.* 45, 221 ff.):

> The holy candlestick (*λυχνία*) and the seven candle-bearers (*λύχνοι*) on it are a copy of the march of the choir of the seven planets. How so? Perhaps we shall be asked. Because, we shall reply, each of the planets is a lightbringer, as the candle-bearers are...

JOSEPHUS attaches the same symbolism to the lampstand in two different passages, i. e. *BJ* 5, 5, 5 § 217 and *AJ* 3, 6, 4 § 123. In the latter passage he writes:

> Now this partitionment of the tabernacle into three parts was withal an imitation of universal nature.

He goes on to speak of the symbolism of the lampstand:

> Facing the table near the south wall, stood a candelabrum of cast gold (*λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ*)... having been made to consist of as many portions as are assigned to the planets with the sun. It terminated in seven branches regularly disposed in a row. Each branch bore one lamp, recalling the number of the planets.

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[19] See CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, on Ex 25,31 (ed. Lyons/Paris 1854, p. 537) to which he refers in his commentary on Ap 1,12 (ed. Lyons/Paris 1854), p. 1037; F. LEVESQUE, "Chandelier" in *DB* 2 (1910) 545 f.; H. GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 294 f.; R. H. CHARLES, in Ap 1,12, p. 25; cf. also n. 1 to p. 12; FOERSTER, *TWNT* I, p. 502; LOHMEYER, *Die Offenbarung*... ed. G. BORNKAMM, Tübingen 1953, on 1,12, p. 17; W. BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Krit. Exeg. Komm. über das NT) 6th. ed. 1906 Göttingen, to 1,12, p. 193, etc.; E. A. ABBOTT, *Notes on N.T. Criticism*, London 1907, p. 195.

Both PHILO and JOSEPHUS appear to be dependent on a Jewish tradition that by their time had attributed a cosmic significance to the temple, its cult and its cult objects. The fact that we find this symbolism in various sections of the writings of both PHILO and JOSEPHUS indicates that this view of Jewish religion is scarcely something of which they themselves are the authors. This is particularly true of the symbolism attached to the lampstand which is twice given by JOSEPHUS. The same symbolism of the lampstand was known to rabbinic Judaism as we know from *Num. R.* 15 to Nm 8,2 and from other rabbinic sources (20).

Despite the fact that the seven-branched lampstand appears to have been taken as a symbol of the seven planets in Judaism of John's day, modern commentators are not impressed by the astral parallels to Ap 1,12.16.20 brought forward by the Comparative Religion School. R. H. CHARLES (21) notes that various scholars have drawn attention to the original connection between the seven-branched candlestick and the seven planets, but believes that the author of the Apocalypse was probably wholly unconscious of the association. He thinks that the connection of the cult with the zodiac mentioned in the works of PHILO and JOSEPHUS is possibly a mere afterthought of both these writers (22), a point that is somewhat improbable as we have noted. E. LOHMEYER (23) recalls the biblical texts (Ex 25,36 ff.; 3 Kgs 7,35; Zech 4,2 etc.) referring to the seven-branched candlestick but does not think we need postulate a remembrance of this by the Seer for the interpretation of the passages. The same author notes the parallels in the Mithra-Liturgy and in Mandaic sources but prefers to take "stars" of the texts of the Apocalypse in question as a symbol of world power, as in NT times (cf. SUETONIUS, *Aug.* 30) the stars had become a symbol of the power of the Caesars (24). FOERSTER (25) considers it possible that the Apocalypse may not really have gone beyond the imagery of PHILO, JOSEPHUS and the rabbis who took the seven lamps as representative of the seven planets (or 'stars'). The "stars" in Ap 1, 12.16.20 would then really be "lamps" and this would retain the parallelism with lampstand/churches.

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(20) The texts are collected by Str.-B. III, pp. 716 f. to Heb 9,2. They make no mention of any relevant text of TJI.

(21) *O. c.* vol. I, p. 25 on Ap. 1,12.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 12, n. 1.

(23) *O. c.*, pp. 17 f.

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) *A. c., TWNT* I, p. 502.

The difficulty is that John has gone beyond the symbolism of these other Jewish sources in taking stars, rather than the more natural lamps or lights, as symbols of the angels of the churches. The point that remains to be solved is whether this step was prepared for him in Jewish thought.

It appears that such was the case. And we find a text that throws light on these NT passages we have cited only in one place in Jewish works, i. e. in TJI Ex 40,4. As far as I have been able to ascertain [26] this text has not so far been noted in commentaries on the Apocalypse or elsewhere. We give below the manner in which the seven-branched lampstand is viewed in TJI Ex 39,37 and in 40,4.

3. *TJI Ex 39,37* [27]: In the biblical text, Ex 35,1 - 39,43 recounts how the material for the tabernacle and its ornaments were collected and how these were then constructed. When this work was completed the various parts were taken to Moses who erected the Tent of Meeting according to God's command (Ex 40). Among other things the Israelites took to Moses "the lampstand of pure gold and its lamps with the lamps set and all its utensils, and the oil for the light" (Ex 39,37).

TJI paraphrases this verse as follows — (italics show the HT):

ויח מנרתא [28] ויח בוצינהא	*And the lampstand and its lamps* (or 'lights').
בוציני סדורא דמסדרין	*the lamps* of order which were *arrayed*
כל קבל שבעתי כוכביא	to correspond to the seven stars (or 'planets') [29]
דנהיגין בשיטריהון	which travel in their set courses
ברקיעא ביממא ובלילי.	in the firmament day and night.

If it could be established that this paraphrase represents the Jewish liturgy of the 1st century, we would have clear evidence that the cosmic significance of the seven-branched lampstand would have been well known

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[26] The Index of Str.-B. does not contain it; neither could reference be found to it in the Index of L. GINZBERG's *Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1938, p. 522.

[27] The Aramaic text can be found in WALTON and M. GINSBURGER *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. 171 (London MS. f. 103 b.); for a Latin rendering see WALTON; for an English one, J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.*, vol. 1, p. 575.

[28] M. GINSBURGER adds דכיתא, "pure", from O.

[29] The Hebrew and Aramaic word can mean either.

to the author of the Apocalypse, a work of such deep liturgical colouring. A difficulty with the texts from PHILO and JOSEPHUS which we have already cited is that their view of the symbolism of the lampstand may be representative of the learned class, influenced by Hellenism, rather than of everyday Judaism ([29a]). The texts of these two writers show that the symbolism found here in TJI was known in first century Judaism. There is no reason why it should not also have penetrated the liturgy and why this liturgical consideration of the sacred object should not be preserved in TJI. O renders the text literally; so does N (the only other PT text extant) though in a manner not identical with the text of O. This is no argument that the rendering of TJI does not represent the PT, or one form of it, of NT times. This point, we presume, is clear from what we have already seen in the preceding chapter and in the treatment of the parallels from TJI Ex 7,11 f. to 2 Tm 3,8 f. As a parallel to Ap 1, 12.16.20, however, TJI Ex 39,37, though important, does not go beyond the texts of PHILO, JOSEPHUS and those of the rabbis. The situation is quite different with TJI Ex 40,4 which we are now to consider.

The biblical text gives God's order to Moses to set up the Tabernacle and put the various sacred objects in order. In 40,4b he is told: "And you shall bring in the lampstand and set up its lamps". Whereas O and N, again the only other PT text extant, render literally in different ways, TJI paraphrases ([30]) — (italics show the biblical text):

ותהנעיל ית מנרתא *And you shall bring in the lampstand*
בסטר דרומא מטול דמתמן in the south side ([31]), because from there

([29a]) Greek culture had, of course, penetrated Palestine well before the Christian era. On this question see S. LIEBERMANN, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, New York 1942; *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*: Studies in the Literature, Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the Ist Century B.C.E.- IVth Century C.E., New York 1950; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed., Doubleday Anchor Book, New York 1957, pp. 345-57, esp. 356 f. and especially W. D. DAVIES, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, London 1955, pp. 1-16 and " Additional Notes" pp. 353 f., esp. note to p. 16 on p. 354. While this Hellenistic influence would have affected the common people in various ways, unless independent evidence from sources for "popular religion" were available, one could legitimately surmise that everyday Jewish religion would have been less influenced by symbolism than by other elements of Greek cultnre.

([30]) London MS f. 103 b; for text and versions cf. n. 27; ETHERIDGE's version is on p. 576.

([31]) Cf. Ex 40,22. With this paraphrase of TJI cp. PHILO, *Quaestiones et*

שבילי שמשא	are the paths of the sun and of the moon
וסידרא ומתמן איסרטוון	and from there are the pathways
דנהורי ומתמן	of the luminaries, and from there
גניזי חכמתא	are the treasures of wisdom ([31a]) which
דמתילין לנהורי ותדלק	resemble the light *and you shall*
ית בוצינהא שובעא כל קביל	*kindle the* seven *lamps* corresponding
שבעתי כוכביא	to the seven stars (or 'planets') ([31b])
דמתילין לצדיקיא דמנהרין	which resemble the just that shine
לעלמא בזכותהון.	unto eternity in their righteousness.

The point to be noted in this paraphrase is that the seven lamps are first taken to represent *the seven planets* and these in turn *are taken to represent the just who shall shine like stars for eternity* (cf. Dan 12,3). This is a good parallel to Ap 1,20 where the seven stars are said to represent the angels of the seven churches, represented by the seven lampstands. If TJI Ex 40,4 was known to the Seer we understand why he took the seven stars, rather than the more natural seven lamps, as symbols for the angels of the Churches. The reason is that the stars were taken as symbols of the just in the Jewish liturgy in which he shows himself so well versed.

E. B. ALLO ([32]), following BOUSSET, gives five views on the identification of the angels (*ἄγγελοι*) of the seven churches of Ap 1,20. They are: (1) the messengers (*ἄγγελοι*) of these churches, whether really present before the Seer or merely seen in vision; (2) the representatives of the respective communities; (3) the guardian angels of these churches; (4) those in charge of the communities; (5) each "angel" may be the personification of the community. The text of TJI we have considered favours the view that takes the "angels" as either the human represen-

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solutiones in Exodum, 79 to Ex 25,37 (ET by R. MARCUS, Loeb ed. of PHILO's works, Supplement II, London 1953, pp. 128 f.:

"(Ex. XXV. 37 b). Why does He say that the lampstand shall give light "from one side?

"The planets do not travel around all parts and sides of the celestial sphere but only in one part, in the south, for their motion is, as it were, near our zone, whence the shadow falls not on the southern but on the northern side. For this reason He has said not ineptly that the lampstand shall give light from one part, indicating (thereby) that the revolution of the planets is in the southern regions".

([31a]) Theman, "the South", was the home of wisdom, cf. Jer 49,7; Bar 3,22 f.

([31b]) See n. 29.

([32]) *O. c.* 2nd. ed. pp. 17 f.; 3rd. ed. pp. 27 f.

tatives of the community (2) or as those in charge of them (4), as the "stars" of TJI Ex 40,4 symbolize the just, not the angels. This view, too, is more in keeping with the symbolism of the lampstands which represent the churches on earth.

The parallelism with Ap 1,20 is in itself a strong argument of the antiquity of the paraphrase of TJI to Ex 40,4. This paraphrase is so much in the tradition of PHILO and JOSEPHUS that one is inclined to see here a genuine NT section of the PT, though found only in TJI. The paraphrase, too, is in keeping with the general context of TJI to Ex 40 where most of the objects of the tabernacle are given a symbolic significance. In TJI Ex 39,10 the four rows of precious stones are said to correspond to the four corners of the world ([33]). It is held by many authors that the symbolism attached to the temple and to its cult dates from early pre-Christian times ([34]). There is, then, no difficulty in taking TJI Ex 40,4, and Ex 40 in general, to be a pre-Christian liturgical paraphrase that has influenced John in the composition of the Apocalypse.

III. PT Ex 15 and Some Aspects of the Liturgy of the Apocalypse ([35])

We have seen how the Exodus theme as such can be found right through the Apocalypse. We have also considered how this NT writing

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([33]) This text has been noted by J. LEPSIUS, *a. c. The Expositor* 1 (1911) 213 f.

([34]) Cf. Y. M.-J. CONGAR, *Le mystère du Temple...*, esp. pp. 119-26; "Le sens cosmique du Temple" (with rich bibliography); P. GRELOT, *Sens chrétien de l'AT*, pp. 232-36. It is believed by some (cf. CONGAR, *ibid.*, pp. 120 f.; GRELOT, *ibid.* p. 233) that a cosmic significance was attached to the Temple and its ornaments from earliest times in view of the same symbolism that the neighbouring nations gave to their sacred places and their cult objects (cf. A. PARROT, *Ziggourats et tour de Babel*, Paris 1949, pp. 204-17). R. DE VAUX is not convinced by this view; see *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament II*, Paris 1960, pp. 169-71.

([35]) PHILO (*De Vita Contemplativa*, §§ 83-88; cf. *De Agricultura*, §§ 80-82) sees in the sacred song and dance of the *Therapeutae* an imitation of the Song of Moses (and Miryam) at the Red Sea, when the Israelites, at their marvellous deliverance sang the praises of their Saviour God (*σωτῆρα θεὸν*). For the *Therapeutae* and an introduction to the *Vita cont.* see the introduction and notes of F. DAUMAS in De Cerf's ed. of the works of PHILO (*Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, no. 29, Paris 1963; with bibliography); cf. also Annie JAUBERT, *La notion d'alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Patristica Sorbonensia 6; Paris 1963), appendix 2. Ex 15 was read on the seventh day of the Passover in the Jewish Liturgy (see J. MANN, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, Vol. I, *The Palestinian Triennial Cycle*, Cincinnati 1940, pp. 435-440). P. GRELOT ("Sagesse 10,21 et le Targum de l'Exode", *Bib* 42 [1961] 49-60) has shown that the

goes beyond the biblical narrative of the Exodus events and the symbolism of some of the objects of the Tabernacle and appears to be influenced by the manner in which the former was narrated, and the latter considered, in the PT. The chief event of the biblical account of the delivery of Israel from Egypt is, of course, the passage of the Red Sea and the hymn of victory sung by the redeemed Israelites (Ex 15). In the present article we intend to consider whether the manner in which Ex 15 is paraphrased in the PT has played any part in the composition of the Apocalypse. Our study shall occasionally take us into texts other than PT Ex 15; our main preoccupation will, however, be PT Ex 15.

We will study the relation of PT Ex 15, and related texts, to the Apocalypse under the following headings: 1) The Vision of God Enthroned above the Sea; 2) The Proclamation of the Victory of God and of the Lamb; 3) The Song of Moses and the New Song to be sung in Messianic Times; 4) The Origin of the Divine Acclamations in the Heavenly Liturgy of the Apocalypse.

1. *The vision of God enthroned above the Sea*: The apocalyptic section of our work opens with a vision granted to the Seer of Patmos which he describes as follows:

> At once I was in the Spirit, and lo, a throne stood in heaven, and one seated on the throne!... and before the throne there was as it were *a sea of glass, like crystal* (Ap 4, 2.6).

Round about the throne were four living creatures; the first was like a lion, the next like an ox, the third with the face of a man and the fourth was like a flying eagle. Day and night these never ceased to sing: " Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty who was and is and is to come" (4,6-8).

In this inaugural vision no mention is made of Christ; he appears only in ch 5 when he is introduced as the Lamb who was slain, who purchased men for God and made them a kingdom and priests to their God. The Lamb is introduced before the throne (5,7). The scene is then the same as that of ch 4, i.e. on the sea of glass like crystal.

When commentators come to determine what John has principally in mind when he conceives the divine throne placed on a sea of glass

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PT paraphrase of Ex 15,2 is already attested in Wisd 10,21. The PT paraphrase to the entire song is very probably an old pre-Christian composition. A detailed study of the point remains a *desideratum*.

like crystal, many of them think that by this sea he means the heavenly ocean, the waters above the earth over which the divine throne is placed ([36]). As parallels we find cited 2 Enoch (Slavonic Enoch), 3,3 and Test. Levi 2,7 which speak of a great heavenly sea (2 En) between the first and second heavens (T. Levi).

It is quite possible that the Seer has the Red Sea or, rather, the heavenly counterpart of the Red Sea, in mind and has a vision of God enthroned above it. That such is the case seems to be indicated by Ap 15,2 which recounts another vision of the Apocalyptist as follows:

> And I saw what appeared to be *a sea of glass mingled with fire*, and those who had conquered the beast and its image and the number of its name, *standing beside the sea of glass* with harps of God in their hands. And *they sang the song of Moses*, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb... (15,2 f.).

In speaking of the "song of Moses" sung by those who have conquered the beast and its image John must surely have the victory of the Red Sea and the Song of Ex 15 in mind. The most natural explanation of the sea of glass mingled with fire will, then, be the Red Sea, used as a symbol of the eschatological victory in the New Exodus described in the entire book ([37]).

([36]) Cf. W. BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Meyer's *Kommentar*), 6th ed., Göttingen 1906, pp. 392 f.; E. LOHMEYER, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Lietzmann's *Handbuch*), Tübingen 1926, p. 130. Str.-B. III, pp. 798 f. to Ap 4,6 collects the Jewish texts on the speculations on the heavenly waters. R. H. CHARLES (*Revelation* I, pp. 117 f.) takes the sea to be the heavenly waters (Gn 1,7; Ps 148,4) but thinks that the original meaning of the words was probably forgotten by NT times; see further n. 39a below.

([37]) Cf. T. F. TORRANCE, "Liturgie et Apocalypse", *VerCaro* 11 (1957) 34 who believes that the "sea" (*yam*) of the Temple (cf. 1 Kgs 7,23-44 etc.) was the cultic replica of the Red Sea. This symbolism may have played a part in the imagery of the vision John had in Patmos. The Sea of the Temple would be placed before the Lord, enthroned above the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies. Certain authors (see n. 34 above) think that this sea of bronze represents the primordial waters, just as the corresponding *apsû* of Babylonian temples symbolized the lower waters. R. DE VAUX, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, Vol. II, p. 171, makes reserves, seeing that we neither know what materially this *apsû* was, nor do we know anything of the symbolic value attached to it. The Bible itself tells us nothing on such cosmic symbolism of the sea of bronze. I have been unable to find any cosmic symbolism attached to the sea of bronze in Jewish writings, but it may very well have had such, just as other objects have

M. M. RIST writes on Ap 15,2 [38]:

> This is the same sea of glass before the throne described in 4:6. However, it has now an added feature, for it is fiery red in colour, which helps to identify it as the heavenly Red Sea... Just as the Israelites with God's aid had earlier passed through the Red Sea to escape Pharaoh and his oppression, now the Christian martyrs have made their escape over the heavenly Red Sea from their persecutor, the Satanic Roman Empire, and stand before the throne holding harps of God i. e. harps for the service of God.

In his commentary on Ap 4,6 M. M. RIST [39] thinks that John is dependent on Ez 1,22-26 (cf. Ez 10,1-22), where we read of "four living creatures bearing a platform glittering like ice or crystal which served as the support of God's throne...". "It was relatively easy", he continues, "to enlarge the platform into a sea". P. PRIGENT [39a] has recently adduced strong arguments tending to show that, in NT Judaism, Ez 1 was combined with Gn 1,6 ff. and considered a cosmogony. The firmament of Ezechiel in this Jewish conception would, then, be the heavenly waters or sea created on the second day and it is to this John would refer in Ap 4,6 [40].

The dependence of Ap 4 on Ezechiel is, of course, undeniable [40a]. The chapter is, however, influenced by other OT texts as well (e.g.,

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in TJI, PHILO and JOSEPHUS. T. F. TORRANCE, *a. c.*, believes that the theme of the Canticle of Moses runs through the heavenly liturgy of the Apocalypse. "La liturgie céleste est décrite ... dans les termes du Cantique de Moïse et de l'Agneau, du Cantique d'Israel après la première Pâque et le passage triomphal de la Mer rouge, quand les armées de l'opression et des ténèbres furent englouties dans les eaux du Baptême. C'est la péan de victoire et de rédemption, le chant d'action de grâces, qui suit l'effusion du sang de l'Alliance et l'instauration d'Israel comme peuple saint par la main puissante de Dieu..." (*a. c.*, p. 36).

[38] *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Interpreter's Bible, Vol XII), New York 1957, p. 478 on Ap 15,2.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

[39a] *Apocalypse et Liturgie*, Neuchâtel 1964, pp. 50-55. He devotes pp. 46-68 to a detailed study of certain aspects of Ap chapter 4. Tg Ez 1,22 renders the verse as: "and the likeness above the heads of the creatures of the firmament (was) as the likeness of hard ice (כעין גליד חסין)"; HT: "Awesome crystal". This Tg text scarcely makes any contribution towards understanding Ap 4,6.

[40] Cf. T. F. TORRANCE, *l. c.* at end of n. 37 above.

[40a] Cf. A. VANHOYE, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse", *Bib* 43 (1962) 436-76, esp. 440 and PRIGENT, *l. c.*

Is 6,3 in 4,8) and contains a host of other Jewish reminiscences besides. Even if the seer is referring to Jewish speculations on the heavenly waters (and this is in no way certain) there is no reason why he should not also have the heavenly Red Sea in mind when describing the background of God's throne. It appears, in fact, that he has. The most obvious explanation of the "sea of glass like crystal" of 4,6 is to consider it the same as the "sea of glass mingled with fire" of 15,2. And this latter, as we have just seen, is probably the heavenly Red Sea. In a book describing the victory of the Lord and his Messiah such a background would suit as a fitting setting for the throne of God and of the Lamb in 4,6.

This view would go very well with the Apocalypse itself and would be very much in accord with NT Judaism which held that the Israelites were granted a vision of the Shekinah at the crossing of the Red Sea. This belief is presupposed, rather than explicitly taught, in rabbinic sources, a fact that in itself indicates it was a widespread tradition. An anonymous saying in the Mekilta (Shirah 3,37a to Ex 15) ([41]) runs:

> Even the woman slave saw more of the Shekinah (= Presence) of God at the Red Sea than the prophet Ezekiel was ever permitted to behold.

According to R. Jose the Galilaean (T2, c. 110 A. D.) ([42]) even the babes beheld the Shekinah at the Red Sea, seeing which they sang the song of Ex 15 to him (cf. Ex 15,2). Though no explicit mention of a vision of the Shekinah at the Red Sea is made in the PT, the texts given above indicate that it must have been a common belief in NT times. It may have occasioned the PT to paraphrase Ex 14,14 ("the Lord will fight for you") and Ex 15,3 ("the Lord is a man of war") as "the Lord in the *glory of his Shekinah* works victory for you".

This view on the background of Ap 4,6 and 15,2 may explain certain other aspects of the vision. R. Abin (A4, c. 340 A. D.) ([43]) makes explicit mention of the four living creatures that were placed beneath the throne of God when the Lord was revealed at the Red Sea. Each of the animals, he says, is the most exalted in its class and the reason they are placed beneath the throne is to acknowledge that there is one more exalted than they (cp. Ap 4). In Ap 4,6; 15,2 we read that the sea was, as it

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([41]) Cf. WINTER-WÜNSCHE, *Die Mekilta*, p. 122.

([42]) The text is found in *Sotah* 30b and elsewhere; cf. Str.-B., IV, p. 175.

([43]) *Ex. R.* 23 to Ex 15,1; in WÜNSCHE, *Shemoth Rabba*, pp. 182 f.

were, "of glass". According to the Mekilta to Ex 14,16 ([44]) one of the ten miracles worked for Israel at the Red Sea was that the sea became congealed (cf. Ex 15,8) and was made like *glass* vessels.

This point has but an incidental bearing on the PT, however, and is introduced here mainly as an introduction to other aspects of PT Ex 15 whose paraphrase appears to be very closely related to certain texts of the Apocalypse.

2. *The victory and kingship of the Redeemer in the PT (Ex 15,18) and in the Apocalypse* ([45]): The very fact that the Seer sees God seated on a throne in heaven (4,2 ff.) shows that the Deity is presented to him as a king. The characteristic feature of God commemorated by the four Living Creatures is his eternal existence. They sing:

> "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!" (4,8) ([45a]).

We have seen that the threefold formula is closely paralleled in TJI Dt 32,39: "I am he who is and who was and he who will be..." The twenty-four elders chant the work of creation wrought by God, saying (4,11):

> "Worthy art thou, our Lord and God,
> to receive glory and honour and power,
> for thou didst create all things,
> and by thy will they existed and were created".

([44]) Cf. WINTER - WÜNSCHE, p. 916.

([45]) On the theme of the Kingship of Yahweh in the O. T. cf. the works on biblical theology and see K. H. BERNHARDT, *Das Problem des Königsideals im Alten Testament*, *VTS* 8 (1961), Leiden; with exhaustive bibliography.

([45a]) For the history of the Trisagion in Judaism and early Christianity cf. now D. FLUSSER, "Sanktus und Gloria" in *Abraham unser Vater* (*Festschrift Otto Michel*), Leiden 1963, pp. 129-52 and P. PRIGENT, *Apocalypse et Liturgie*, pp. 56-66 and the literature there noted. In pre-Christian Judaism the original connection of the Trisagion (*Qedushah*) with the seraphim (Is 6,2 f.) was lost sight of, or rather, the Seraphim were confused with the Cherubim or with the angels around the divine throne (cf. 2 Enoch 21,1; PRE 4; 1 Enoch 39,12). In the last mentioned text it is the ministering angels ("those who sleep not") that sing it. The same is true of Tg Is 6,2 f. "Holy ministers (stood) on high before him... and they (were) crying out one to another and saying: 'Holy in the heavens on high, the house of his Shekinah; holy on the earth, the work of his might; holy forever and ever (is) the Lord God of hosts. The whole earth is full of the splendour of his Glory'". (For English translation see J. F. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah*, Oxford 1949, p. 20). D. FLUSSER, *o. c.*, pp. 146 f., compares this text of Tg Is with Lk 2,14.

If we seek a parallel for this in the PT the nearest one is that which TJI prefixes to his paraphrase of the divine Name ("I Am he who is and who will be") in Ex 3,14, i.e. "He who spoke and the world was, who spoke and all things were". TJII and N, on the contrary, take the divine name of the same text to refer to God's past and future activity, rendering as: "He who said to the world from the beginning, *Be*!, and it was; and is yet to say to it, *Be*!, and it will be" ([46]).

In the scene immediately following that of Ap ch 4, the "Lamb standing, as though it had been slain", is introduced (Ap 5,6). "He came (*ἦλθεν*) and took the scroll from the right hand of him who was seated on the throne" (5,7), after which the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders sing a new song saying:

> "Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God, and they shall reign on earth" (5,9 - 11).

The new kingdom constituted by the Lamb implies that Christ is here conceived of as King. In the remaining portion of the Apocalypse Christ is associated with God seated on the throne. In 5,13 both God and the Lamb receive the following acclamation:

> "To him who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and might for ever and ever!"

The same words are addressed by the procession of the innumerable multitude of redeemed, to God and to Christ:

> "Salvation belongs to our God who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb!" (7,10); *ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.*

And when Satan is cast out of heaven after the war with Michael a loud voice is heard in heaven saying:

> "Now the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ have come..." (12,10).

We may justly conclude from this that in 5,7 ff. John has described for us the Enthronement of the Lamb. This is precisely how D. W.

([46]) See above pp. 106 ff.

HADORN understands 5,7. Having noted how the Lamb is presented standing, he continues ([47]):

> In dieser Bild kommt nun Bewegung. Das Lamm erhebt sich, naht sich Gott und empfängt aus seiner Hand das Buch. ᵀ*Ηλθεν* steht nachdrücklich und absichtlich da. Es drückt die *Thronbesteigung* des *Gekreuzigten* aus, seine Erhöhung zur Himmlischen Herrlichkeit, das *ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ* I Tm 3,16, so dass der Wechsel des Tempus, von Aor zum Perf. *εἴληφεν* keine Velleität ist. Es ist mit dem Perf. der Empfang zur bleibenden Besitz ausgesprochen. Jedenfalls lag es dem Joh daran zu betonen, dass das Lamm das Buch tatsächliche in seine Hand genommen hat und dass die nun folgende Geschichte unter seine königlichen Regierung steht.

The background of all these passages, with the exception of 12,10, is the same, viz. before the throne which is placed on the sea of glass. And this, as we have seen, is possibly, if not probably, the heavenly counterpart of the Red Sea of the Exodus. We now turn to consider a parallel to this proclamation of God and the Lamb as Redeemers. The text is found in PT Ex 15,18.

The HT text paraphrased in the PT has: יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד — "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever". The PT is extant in a number of different renderings, the multiplicity of MSS being explained by the fact that this text was used in the Passover Liturgy down through the ages. The oldest text extant is that of the Cairo Geniza, published by W. BAARS ([48]). It is unfortunate that no indication of the age of the MS, or the relation it bears to PT texts already published, accompanies the article of W. BAARS. The text of his MS to Ex 15,18 is somewhat fragmentary, reading as follows:

(18) יי//////////יי היא מלכותא ? עלמא//////דיה היא לעלמא דאתי

The extant part of the text, and the vacant spaces, indicate that the rendering is practically identical with the translation proper of Paris 110 to 15,18 which is as follows ([49]):

([47]) *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Theol. Handk. zum NT, XVIII), Leipzig 1928, p. 78; see also Y. M.-J. CONGAR, *Le mystère du Temple*, pp. 264 ff.

([48]) "A Targum on Exod. XV 7-21 from the Cairo Geniza", *VT* 11 (1961) 340-42.

([49]) The text can be seen in M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 37.

דה' הוא מלכותיה	The Lord's is the kingship in this
בעלמא הדין ובעלמא דאתי	world, and in the world to come, of
דיליה הוא.	him it is.

This rendering scarcely goes beyond the MT and may be omitted from consideration here. We have a more paraphrastic rendering in N and in the Parma MS, De Rossi (3132) (50), which present practically identical texts. We render N here and give the Aramaic texts of N and the Parma MS in the notes(51) — (italics denote the biblical text; bold type NT parallels):

> The children of Israel say: "**How the crown of kingship becomes thee, O Lord!** When thy children saw the signs of thy wonderful deeds in the sea and the manifestation of thy divine power between the waves, in that hour they opened their mouths together and said: *The Lord's is the kingship* from before the world and *for ever and ever*".

This text celebrates the eternal kingship of God, a manifestation of which they saw in his victory at the Red Sea. The text of N and of the Parma MS seems to be an abbreviation of the paraphrase which we find in TJI and TJII (52), Polyglots, which we are now to consider. TJI renders our verse as follows (53) — (italics etc. as before):

כד חמון עמא בית	When the people of the house of
ישראל ית ניסיא וית פרישתא	Israel saw the signs and the wonders

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(50) "Aramäische Introduktionen zum Thargumvortrag an Festtagen", *ZDMG* 54 (1900) 113-24; for our text cf. p. 123; see also *id.* "Die Thargumim zur Thorahlection am 7. Pesach- und 1. Schabboth Tage", *MGWJ* 39 (1894) 97-105; 193-206, esp. pp. 194 f. for a text of PT Ex 15,18 identical with that of Paris 110.

(51) ,י, יסלך אמרין בני ישראל מה יאה הוא לך כליל מלכותא ,י, כד חמון בניך ניסי פרישתך ביסא ונבורתא ביני גלליא בההיא שעתא פתחו פומיהון כחדא ואמרין ד,י, הוא מלכותא מן קדם עלמא ועד עלם עלמיא.

(3132) 61: אמרין בני ישראל מה יאי הוא לך כליל דמלכותא ה' כד חמון בני פרישותיה דיסא ונבורתך ביני גלליא בה שעתא פתחון פומהון כולהון כחדא ואמרין דה' היא מלכותיה לעלמא הדין ודיליה הוי לעלמי עלמין.

(52) Their texts "How the crown of kingship becomes thee, O Lord!" suits a context like that of TJI and TJII, Polyglots, where the Israelites place the crown of majesty on the head of their Redeemer; for the longer and shorter form of PT paraphrases see above p. 144.

(53) London MS f. 750. A Latin version may be seen in Walton; an English one, not quite exact in places, may be found in J. W. Etheridge, p. 495.

דעבד להון קודשא יהא שמיה
משבח על ימא דסוף
וגבורת ידיה ביני
גלליא עניין ואמרין
איליין לאיליין איתן ניתן
כליל דרבו בריש
פרוקן... דדיליה הוא
כליל מלכותא והוא מלך
מלכין בעלמא הדין
ודיליה היא מלכותא לעלמא
דאתי · ודיליה היא והויא
לעלמי עלמין.

which the Holy One (may his Name be praised!) did at the Red Sea and the might of his hand between the waves, they answered and said one to the other: **"Come! Let us place the crown of majesty on the head of our Redeemer**... For *his is the* crown of *Kingship* since he is the King of kings in this world; and his is the kingdom in the world to come. And his it is and shall be *for ever and ever.*

TJII, Polyglots, has practically the same text as TJI. It is as follows (54) — (italics etc. as above):

> When the house of Israel saw the signs and marvels (פלאין) which the Holy One, Blessed be he, did for them at the Red Sea — may his Name be blessed for ever and ever —, they gave glory, praise and exaltation to their God (יהבו יקר ותושבחתא ורוממו לאלההון). The children of Israel said one to the other: **"Come! let us place a crown on the head of our Redeemer** (פרוקא)... And *he is King* of kings in this world, and yet his is the crown of kingship in the world to come. And his it shall be *for ever and ever"*.

In this beautiful paraphrase of TJI and TJII, Polyglots, we find God proclaimed King of Israel at the Red Sea because he is her Redeemer, in having delivered her from Egypt. The parallel in thought and term with the Apocalypse texts which we have cited above is very close. In the NT redemption those saved by God and the Lamb proclaim *ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.*

In view of the liturgical nature of the work and its relation with Jewish liturgy as seen in the PT, it is better to see the origin of these expressions in Judaism rather than in Hellenistic religion, though John may have intended them against the imperial cult (55). The Seer's primary

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(54) For Latin and English renderings see WALTON and ETHERIDGE, pp. 495 f.

(55) W. BOUSSET, *o. c.*, p. 284 affirms, against DEISSMANN (*Bibelstudien*, p. 285), that there is no need to have recourse to Greek cultus for an explanation

purpose in the passages in question is to show the praises that are due to God and to the Lamb for the New act of Redemption, and in showing this he appears to have gone beyond the OT text to the manner in which this was viewed in the liturgical paraphrase as we find it still in the PT, particularly in TJI and TJII, Polyglots.

3. *The Song of Moses and the New Song of the Apocalypse (5,9-13; 14,3; 15,3 f.)* [56]: In Ap 15,2-4 John tells us that he saw an innumerable multitude of those who had conquered the beast and its image, standing before the sea of glass mingled with fire. These sang the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb. We have seen how the reference to this song as that of Moses, the servant of the Lord, shows that the sea of glass refers to the Red Sea and Israel's victory over Egypt. In 5,9 f. the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders sing a "new song" to the Lamb on behalf of those he has redeemed by his blood. The background in this case is the divine throne before the sea, as it were of glass, which again may refer to the Red Sea, or rather to its heavenly double. In 14,3 the new song is sung before the Lamb by the 144 thousand "who had been redeemed from earth". This time the background is before the Lamb who is standing on Mount Sion.

We naturally seek to find whether this "new song" of the Apocalypse is a Christianization of some Jewish tradition. Such is the case. The belief that Israel would sing a new song, similar to that of Moses, in Messianic times is an old one in Israel. We find mention of it already in the Mekilta (Hashirah 1 to Ex 15,1) [57] which enumerates ten songs from Israel's history. The first was that sung in Egypt before the deliverance (proof text, Is 30,29); the second was the song sung at the Red Sea (Ex 15,1 ff.).

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of Ap 7,9. On σωτηρία of Ap 7,10 he says: "σωτηρία ist Hebraismus" and refers to Ps 3,9; cf. likewise R. H. CHARLES, I, p. 211.

[56] Cf. Str.-B., III, pp. 801 f. on Ap 5,9; L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, Vol. III, Philadelphia 1911, pp. 31-36 and the corresponding notes in Vol. VI, Philadelphia 1928, esp. p. 31 f.; T. F. TORRANCE, "Liturgie et Apocalypse", p. 34; H. WILDBERGER, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion", *VT* 7 (1957) 62-81; A. SCHLATTER, *Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apocalypse*, Gütersloh 1912, pp. 62 f. (= *Beitr. z. Förd. christ. Theol.* vol. XVI, n. 6, pp. 594 f.); J. COMBLIN, "La liturgie de la Nouvelle Jérusalem" (Apoc., XXI,1-XXII,5)", *ETL* 29 (1953) 5-40.

[57] Cf. WINTER - WÜNSCHE, *Die Mekilta*, p. 112.

> The tenth one will be in the future, as it is said: *Sing to the Lord a new song, his praise from the end of the* earth (Is 42,10); again: *Say, the Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob* (Is 48,20).

Seeing that it was a constant belief in Israel that the Messiah would come at the Passover Night ([58]), this "new song" was naturally connected in Jewish tradition with this feast. According to TJII, Paris 110, to Ex 15,18, the song the children of Israel will sing in Messianic times will be the acclamation of the eternal kingship of the Lord. Paris 110 to Ex 15,18 introduces the midrash on the Four Nights which all other PT texts insert at Ex 12,42. This hymn on the Four Nights of Passover has been studied in detail in R. LE DÉAUT's monograph *La nuit pascale,* and need not detain us here. It recounts events that took place or will take place at the Night of Passover. The First Night was that of creation; the Second when God was revealed to Abraham to announce that Isaac would be born. The Third was that of the Passover, before, the Exodus from Egypt. Of the Fourth Night Paris 110 says:

> The Fourth Night when the world will have completed its appointed time to be redeemed ([59]). The bars of iron shall be broken; the works of wickedness made an end of. Moses will come forth from the desert and King Messiah will come forth from Rome ([60]). The one will lead at the head of the flock ([61])

([58]) Cf. St. JEROME (PL, 26, 184): "Traditio Judaeorum est Christum media nocte venturum in similitudinem Aegyptii temporis, quando pascha celebratum est". On this belief in Judaism cf. R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, pp. 287 ff.

([59]) We prefer to render למפרקא of this text as "to be redeemed", as VERMES, P. GRELOT - J. PIERRON do. The word can also be understood as "to be dissolved". This is how WALTON, M. GASTER, R. BLOCH and R. LE DÉAUT take it. The context, that speaks of "redemption", is a strong argument for seeing למפרקא of this text to refer to the same. For a discussion of the point see R. LE DÉAUT, *o. c.*, p. 266, n. 1.

([60]) The mention of "Rome" (מרומא) creates a difficulty for the early dating of the passage; for a discussion of the point see R. LE DÉAUT, *ibid.*, pp. 359-69. It is possible that the original reading was ממרומא, "from on high", and that the present reading מרומא, "from Rome", is due to later scribes. It is also possible that מרומא is to be translated "from on high".

([61]) ברישׁ ענא. Thus all PT texts apart from TJI and TJII, Polyglot, which have ברישׁ ענגא, "at the head of a cloud". "To be led" or "to lead" (מדבר can mean both) at the head of a cloud" makes poor sense. This is an additional argument that "at the head of the flock" (ברישׁ ענא) is the original reading. The paraphrase may be influenced by Dt 33,21 which says that God "came to the heads

> and the other will lead at the head of the flock, and the Memra of the Lord will accompany (62) between them both and they shall both proceed together. And the children of Israel will sing: *The Lord's is the kingship in this world and in the world to come, of him it is.*

There is here no explicit mention of a new song sung by the Israelites. The purpose of the Paris MS in placing this midrash at Ex 15,18 rather than at 12,42 is, however, most probably connected with the belief that, as at the Red Sea so in Messianic times, of which the midrash speaks, will a new song be sung by the sons of Israel. And for our MS this song is no other than the proclamation of the kingship of God, whose kingdom has been introduced by the Messiah, when "the bars of iron are broken and the works of wickedness made an end of".

In Ap 5,9 f. and 15,3 f. the contents of the "new song" and of "the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb" proclaim the same truths; the lamb has ransomed (63) men for God and made of them a kingdom and priests for him (5,9 f.) (64); his judgements have been revealed (15,4).

In the Tg to Canticles (1,1) we read of ten songs sung by Israel. The list differs somewhat from that of the Mekilta. The final song, however, is the same, being that yet to be sung at the final redemption. The text of the Tg to Canticles is now available in two printed editions, that of WALTON and in another one published by MELAMED (65). The variants

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of the people" (HT: בראשי עמים). O and TJI render: "As he (Moses) came in and went out at the head of the people (בריש עמא) in this world, so shall he come in and go out at the head of the people in the world to come". On the entire question see R. LE DÉAUT, *o. c.*, pp. 266-70.

(62) Aramaic text מדבר בינהון; we prefer to render this phrase as "to accompany" rather than as "to lead between", which is the *ad litteram* version generally followed. To begin with, "to lead between" makes bad sense. Then we find the same Aramaic expression is used to render הלך עם, "to walk with", in N Dt 20,4 and to translate התהלך, "to accompany", in N Lv 26,12 and Dt 23,15.

(63) *Ἀγοράζειν*. The word is not to be understood in the Greek forensic sense of buying after the payment of money, or in the religious sense of a fictitious purchase by some god. As with other NT terms, this one is to be understood through OT usage; cf. S. LYONNET, *De peccato et redemptione II*, pp. 49-66.

(64) Cf. *infra* pp. 202 ff.

(65) R. H. MELAMED, *The Targum to Canticles*, Philadelphia 1921. The Tg to Canticles, as it now stands, is demonstrably a recent (post-talmudic) composition. This, of course, is no argument that it does not enshrine early and pre-Christian traditions. The early parallels to the present text indicate that the passage cited is one such. It is possible, though in no wise subject to proof,

to 1,1 are of no importance for our subject and we give here that printed in the London Polyglot. Italics denote the biblical text of Is 30,29:

שירתא עשירתא עתידין למימר	The tenth song is to be said by the
בני גלותא בעדן דיפקון	children of the captivity what time
מגלותא דהכדין	they come forth from captivity, for
כתיב ומפרש על ידוי	thus it is written and explained by
ישעיה נביא דהכדין כתיב	Isaiah the prophet who wrote thus (cf. Is 30,29):
שירה הדין יהא לכון לחדוא	*This song shall be for you* a joy
כליל אתקדשות חגא	*as the night (when) the Feast* of
דפסחא	Passover *is sanctified, and the*
וחדות ליבא דעמא דאזלין	*joy of heart, as the people going*
לאתחזאת קדם יי	to present itself before the Lord
תלת זמנא בשתא במיני זמר	thrice yearly with musical instru-
וקל נבלא למעל	ments and the sound of lyre to go
לטורא דיי	in *to the mountain of the Lord*
ולפלח קדם יי תקיפא דישראל.	*and* adore before *the Mighty One of Israel.*

This paraphrase of Is 30,29 is not taken from Tg Jonathan to the Prophets ([66]). It probably represents the Palestinian Tg to

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that our present Tg to Canticles is a rewriting of an earlier work. When Tgs to the Megilloth or the Hagiographa first came to be composed we cannot say. These books were scarcely in use in the synagogue liturgy in Mishnaic times (cf. M. *Shabbat* 16,1 etc.; G. F. MOORE, *Judaism I*, p. 314 and n. 1 to page) as it was forbidden to read them privately on the Sabbath (at least before the Minḥah), the reason being that this reading might keep people away from the schools. They were probably expounded in the schools in the afternoon. Some passages of them certainly were (cf. MOORE, *ibid.*, p. 315) and the Targums may be connected with such rabbinic exposition. Canticles itself lent itself to a Messianic interpretation and the paschal interpretation of Tg Canticles may well be very old and even pre-Christian. We do not really know when Canticles was first used in the Jewish paschal Liturgy. A. ROBERT (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1963, p. 43, recalled by P. GRELOT in *RB* 71 [1964] 267) says the fact is not attested before the 5th cent. A.D. This in no way means the Book had not received a paschal interpretation earlier.

([66]) This renders the HT faithfully apart from paraphrasing "the sound of the flute" as "a song of thanksgiving and pipe". See an English translation in J. F. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah*, p. 132.

Isaiah (67). In spirit the rendering of Tg Canticles 1,1 is quite true to the original which speaks of his people's liberation from Assyria, a liberation which would give joy as that of some great feast — the Passover according to most commentators. The Targumist refers this biblical text to the future redemption at the hands of the Messiah, who would lead the clans of Israel from captivity.

In the paraphrase of Tg Cant 1,1 the redeemed are represented as marching to Jerusalem singing the new song (68). The idea is very similar to that in 4 Esdras 13,35 ff., which speaks of the vision of the Son of Man. According to R. KABISCH's (69) view of the book, this chapter is

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(67) On the Palestinian Tg to the Prophets see W. BACHER, "Targum", in *JE* 12 (1907) 61. Fragments of this Tg have recently been published by A. DÍEZ MACHO in *EstBib* 15 (1956) 287-95; *Sefarad* 16 (1956) 1 f.; *Bib* 39 (1958) 198-205. Portions of the Palestinian Targum to Isaiah are found in some MSS and have been printed by P. DE LAGARDE, *Prophetae chaldaice*, Leipzig 1872; J. F. STENNING, *o. c.*, pp. 224-28. We may add to these the Aramaic versions of Is 51,6 and 65,15 cited in PT Dt 32,1; Tg Jer 17,5.7 cited in PT Gn 40,23, which also probably represent the PT to the Prophets as they differ from Tg Jonathan.

(68) J. COMBLIN ("La liturgie de la Nouvelle Jérusalem", *ETL* 29 [1953] 5-40) shows the liturgy of Ap 21,1 - 22,5 is depicted as that of the great pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He writes:

> Les actions liturgiques de *Apoc.* XXI,1-XXII,5, conviennent aux fêtes de pèlerinage que les Juifs pieux célébraient trois fois par an à Jérusalem... Ainsi se complète donc le tableau du peuple nouveau dans la Jérusalem nouvelle: pour le représenter, Jean se sert de l'assemblée du peuple d'Israël réuni pour le pèlerinage trisannuel ... Les prophéties messianiques les plus récentes concentrent de plus en plus les promesses sur Jérusalem. Elles décrivent la gloire future d'Israël sous la forme d'un pèlerinage magnifique à la ville sainte et glorieuse. Des diasporas successives ont répandu les Juifs aux quatre coins du monde. Par suite le pèlerinage messianique indique en même temps la reconstitution du peuple du Dieu. Dans le prolongement des fêtes de pèlerinage, il était aisé d'imaginer la transfiguration que Dieu réservait aux siens (*a. c.*, pp. 23 f.).

For the prophecies see Mi 4,1-5; Bar 5,1-3, etc., Is 2,1-4; 35; 43,18-21, etc.; Jer 31,6. Ap 21,1 - 22,5 actually describes the heavenly liturgy after the creation of the new heavens and the new earth. What is said there; and the words of S. COMBLIN, can equally well apply to a vision of the Redemption by which Christ constituted the New Israel.

(69) *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, Göttingen 1889. For a view of the position of KABISCH see J. B. FREY, " Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament", *DBS* Vol. 1, p. 413; BENSLY-JAMES, *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (Texts and Studies Vol. III, n. 2), Cambridge 1895, pp. LXXXIX f.

of Pompeian date and was composed at Jerusalem, though in its present form it shows traces of the editor who, according to KABISCH, put our present work together c. 120 A.D. The sources that lie behind ch 13 may be presumed to be much older than the days of Pompey. The text in question speaks of the appearance of a Man (cf. 13,3.6) on Mount Sion(70).

> (35) Ipse autem stabit super cacumen montis Sion. Sion autem ueniet et ostendetur omnibus parata et aedificata, sicut uidisti montem sculpi sine manibus... (39) Et quoniam uidisti eum colligentem ad se aliam multitudinem pacificam, Haec sunt decem tribus, quae captiuae factae sunt de terra sua in diebus Iosiae regis, quem captiuum duxit Salmanassar rex Assyriorum, et transtulit eos trans flumen, et translati sunt in terram aliam...

Ap 14,1-5 may have as background, traditions such as 4 Esd 13,35.39 and Tg Cant 1,1, when it speaks of a hundred-and-forty-four thousand redeemed from the earth singing a new song before the Lamb standing on Mount Sion. The sole difference between this and other passages of the Apocalypse when speaking of the new song is that here it is sung before the Lamb on Mount Sion, while elsewhere (4,11; 15,3 f.) the song is sung before the throne placed on the sea of glass in heaven. Commentators justly note (71) that though the scene in 14,1-5 is placed before Mount Sion the text is exactly parallel to Ap 7,4 ff., where a hundred-and-forty-four thousand perform a similar liturgical action in heaven. The change of scene would then be occasioned by the different Jewish traditions with which the author of the Apocalypse was working.

The texts of TJII, Paris 110, and Tg Cant 1,1, paralleled by 4 Esd 13,35 ff., indicate that the theme of the new song, and the various ways in which the author uses the motif, were prepared already in the Jewish liturgy.

4. *Some of the divine acclamations in the heavenly liturgy of the Apocalypse and the PT* (72): The terms of the formulae in which God and the

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(70) For the text see *ibid.*, pp. 66 f.

(71) Cf., e. g., CHARLES II, p. 4; P. BOISMARD, *L'Apocalypse* (BJ, Paris 1950), p. 61, n. *a*; W. BOUSSET, 5th ed., 1906, p. 380; M. RIST, (Interpreter's Bible, vol. 12), p. 468.

(72) Cf. FOERSTER, "*axios*", *TWNT* 1 (1933) 378-80; SCHLIER, "*adô*", *ibid.*, pp. 163-65; J. KROLL, "Die Hymnendichtung des frühen Christentums", *Antike 2*

Lamb are worshipped are another point in which the heavenly liturgy of the Apocalypse may be usefully compared with the PT, especially PT Ex 15. These acclamations are composed of twelve substantives which are combined in various ways. These are *δόξα, τιμή, δύναμις, εὐλογία, ἰσχύς, ἐξουσία, σωτηρία, πλοῦτος, εὐχαριστία, κράτος, σοφία, βασιλεία.*

G. A. DEISSMANN ([73]) has noted that "it would be possible in the case of many individual words belonging to the retinue of 'king' to prove the parallelism between the language of christian worship and the formulae of the Imperial law and the Imperial cult". No small amount of attention has been given to these hymns of the Apocalypse in recent times ([74]). In general, the view of DEISSMANN has not been received with favour. The entire character of the Apocalypse invites one to see the source of its terminology in the OT and Jewish liturgy rather than in Hellenistic religion and civilization.

In the present study we restrict ourselves to the bearing of the PT on these formulae and the substantives that compose them. This does not mean that they are restricted to this alone; the labours of those who have devoted themselves to a study of the point have made clear that this is not so. The presence of the terms in the Jewish liturgy with which the Apocalypse appears to be intimately connected warrants, however, the summary study we here devote to the point.

Ap 4,9 says that the four living creatures give (*δώσουσιν*) *δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν* (*καὶ εὐχαριστίαν*) to God, which the Peshitta, written in Oriental Aramaic, renders: (יהבון [נתלן] ... תשבוחתא ואיקרא (וקובל שיבותא). A similar, though not quite identical, parallel to *δώσουσιν δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν* is found in Pss 28(29),1; 95(96),7: *ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν καὶ τιμήν*; HT הבו ליהוה כבוד ועז; Tg Pss: הבון קדם יי איקר ועשנא; cf. Ps 8,6. The identical phrase is found a number of times in the PT. Moses told the Israelites at the Red Sea: הבו יקרא ותושבחא ורוממו לאלהא, *"Give glory and honour* and exaltation to God" (TJI, TJII, N, Ex 14,14 Paris 110 has the text to

(1926) 258-81; KLAUSER, "Akklamation" in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1950) 228, no. 10; L. MOWRY, "Rev 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage", *JBL* 71 (1952) 75-84; G. DELLING, "Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannesapokalypse" *NT* 3 (1959) 107-37, esp. pp. 108 f.; S. LÄUCHLI, "Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannesoffenbarung", *TZ* 16 (1960) 359-78. See also the commentaries, e. g. SWETE, p. 73 to Ap 4,9; LOHMEYER, p. 49 to 4,9.

([73]) *Licht von Osten*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1909, p. 275; Eng. tr., *Light from the Ancient East*, London 1911, p. 368.

([74]) See the works of L. MOWRY, G. DELLING and S. LÄUCHLI referred to in the bibliography in preceding note.

Ex 15,3). In the text of TJI and TJII (Polyglots) to Ex 15,18, which we have already cited, we read that the Israelites "*gave glory and honour* and exaltation" to their God who had redeemed them from Egypt and whom they consequently acclaimed as their Redeemer. The same phrase occurs in N Dt 3,32. In none of these texts does the HT influence the presence of the expression. It was most probably a common liturgical one and used, perhaps, in Passover and Exodus contexts (75).

Most of the other terms used by the Apocalypse in the heavenly liturgy have equivalents in the PT, particularly in the paraphrase to Ex 15. The Peshitta naturally renders *δύναμις* (76) as חילא. We may compare PT Ex 15,6: "How glorious in power (בחילא) is thy right hand, O Lord, that destroys Pharoah, the hater, the adversary!" *Ἰσχύς* (77) (Pesh. עושנא) and *κράτος* (78) (Pesh. אוחדנא) are practically identical. We may compare PT Ex 15,18 which speaks of God's *might* (גבורתיה) which he showed by destroying the Egyptians. "According to his Name so is his *might* (גבורתיה)", PT Ex 15,3. Paris 110 adds the following to this last text as found in TJI, TJII and N: כן תוקפיה, "so is his *strength*".

Σωτηρία (79) (Peshitta: פורקנא) is a typically Jewish word, though also found in the Imperial religion. The PT is replete with the idea and the term. Confining ourselves to PT Ex 14 - 15 alone, we may note how Moses told a group of Israelites standing by the Red Sea that they were about to see the *salvation* (פורקנא דיי) which God would work for them; PT Ex 14,14; in Paris 110, Ex 15,3. The Lord is proclaimed king in PT Ex 15,18 (TJI, TJII Polyglots) because he is Israel's *Redeemer*. The PT paraphrase to this same verse dwells on God's Kingship, as we have already noted.

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(75) The expression occurs in the Mekilta to Ex 14,13 in a midrash, also found in the PT, on the Israelites at the Red Sea. It is found likewise in the Mishnah (*Pesaḥ* 10,5) in the description of the manner in which Israel should praise God for the events of the Exodus. I have been unable to find other occurrences of it in early Jewish literature. It is not attested in the Qumran texts as a glance of KUHN's *Konkordanz* will show. It does occur, however, in the present-day Jewish liturgy.

(76) Cf. GRUNDMANN, "*dynamis*", *TWNT* 2 (1935) 306-08.

(77) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 306 f.; *id.* "*ischys*", *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1938) 402.

(78) Cf. MICHAELIS, "*kratos*", *ibid.* vol. 3, pp. 905-10; esp. p. 908.

(79) Cf. "*sôzô, sôtêria, sôtêr, sôtêrios*" in *TWNT*, vol. 7, fasc. 16 (1964) 966 ff.; in Hellenism (FOERSTER, 967-70); in the OT (FOHRER, 970-81); in late Judaism (FOERSTER, 981-89); in the NT (FOERSTER, 989 ff.). For a study of the term in MELITO and among the Quartodecimans cf. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, pp. 291-298.

It is probable, of course, that John had the imperial cult in mind when he penned his descriptions of the heavenly liturgy. The indications are, however, that his language is due to the Jewish liturgy and not to that of the imperial religion. Steeped, as he was, in the religion of his people, he gave expression to the doctrine of final redemption in the language and imagery of ancient Israel. This imagery and language of the Apocalypse are evident in many PT texts, a fact that can best be explained on the assumption that these Jewish texts represent the religious background which affected John in his work.

IV. The Protevangelium in the PT and Ap 12,17 f. [80]

When God cursed the serpent who had made Adam and Eve sin he said to it (Gn 3,15):

איבה אשית בינך ובין האשה	*a*) "I will put enmity between you and the woman
ובין זרעך ובין זרעה	*b*) between your seed and her seed;
הוא ישופך ראש	*c*) He (it?) shall crush(?) your head
ואתה תשופנו עקב.	*d*) and you shall crush(?) his (its?) heel".

These words pose a number of questions for both the scientific and popular expositor. What does the seed of the woman mean? A collectivity, or an individual as the LXX seemingly took it when it rendered the personal pronoun of 15c as masculine (*αὐτός*)? What is the precise meaning of שוף of the HT? Does it mean "to lie in wait", as the LXX understood it (*τηρήσει[ς]*)? Or is it best translated "to crush" (*conterere*) as JEROME renders it in his commentary to the verse? [81] Does the word have the same meaning in 15c and 15d? This is how the LXX and JEROME understand it. Or are we to translate in different ways in the two separate occurrences as the Vg does: "ipsa [82] *conteret* caput tuum et

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[80] Cf. J. MICHL, "Der Weibessame (Gen 3,15) in Spätjudentum und frühchristlicher Auffassung", *Bib* 33 (1952) 371-401:

[81] *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* 3,15; *PL* 23,991; *CC, Series latina*, Vol. 72, part I, pp. 5 f.

[82] The critical edition of the Vulgate by D. H. QUENTIN (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam versionem ad codicum fidem*, Genesis, Rome 1926, p. 151) shows *ipsa* to be the genuine Vg text of Jerome. In his commentary (*l. c.*) he has *ipse*.

tu *insidiaberis* calcaneo eius?" What is to be the outcome of the struggle between the seed of the woman and that of the serpent? The text is certainly one into which a Targumist can read later doctrine and we turn to the PT to find its understanding of the passage. Its rendering has been preserved for us in TJI, TJII and N. We also have a portion of 15d in a citation from ELIAS LEVITA (83).

1. *PT Gn 3,15*: TJI renders as follows — (italics denote the biblical text) (84):

ודבבו אישוי בינך	*a) I will put enmity between you and*
ובין איתתא	*the woman,*
בין זרעית בנך	*b) between* the descendants of *your*
ובין זרעית בנהא	sons *and* the *descendants* of *her* sons;
ויהי כד יהוון	*c)* and it shall come to pass that
בנהא דאיתתא נטרין	when the sons of the woman
מצוותא דאורייתא יהוון	keep the commandments of the
מכוונין ומחיין יתך	Law *they will be aiming* at you
על רישך	and *smiting you on the head*;
וכד יבקין מצוותא	*d) and* when they forsake the com-
דאורייתא תהוי	mandments of the Law *you*
מתכוין ונכית יתהון בעיקבהון	*will be aiming at and biting*
	them in the heel.
ברם להון יהי	For them, however, there will be
אסו ולך לא יהא	a remedy but for you there will be
אסו ועתידין הינון למעבד	no remedy; for they are to make
שפיותא בעיקבא	a cure (?) for the heel in the
ביומא מלכא משיחא.	day of King Messiah.

The same paraphrase is found in TJII and N. These have practically identical texts, apart from a number of lexical differences in N whose text we give here in translation.

> "*And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your sons* (בניך) *and her sons* (בנה). And it shall come to

(83) In M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 92.
(84) For Latin and English versions see WALTON and J. W. ETHERIDGE.

pass that when her sons (בניה) keep the Law and do the precepts *they shall* aim at you and *smite you on the head* and kill you. *And* when they forsake the precepts of the Law you *shall* aim at and bite him (!יתיה) *in the heel and wound him* (!יתיה). For her sons (לבריה), however, there shall be a remedy, and for you, serpent, there shall be no remedy; for they are to make a cure (?; שפיותיה) for the heel (?; בעוקבה) in the days of King Messiah".

2. *Commentary on the PT rendering*: N has a number of different readings from TJI and TJII, some of which, however, bear the same meaning as these latter. Thus, בנה of 16b cannot be rendered as "her son" which would at least require ברה. בנה is possibly an error for בניה, a recognized form in Galilaean Aramaic for "her sons" ([85]), and is to be given that sense in this passage as the verbs and participles in the plural indicate. בניה of 15c can mean "her sons", but can also be rendered as "the sons" ([86]). יתיה ([87]), "him" of 15c is certainly singular. The Targumist may be here influenced by the underlying HT, or he may have taken "sons" as a collectivity. We may also take בריה of the additional midrash of the end of the verse as "her son", in which case we must correct to ברה, the form as it stands meaning "his son". It is possible that here we have a scribal error for בניה, "her sons", or that בריה is to be understood in this sense ([88]).

One thing is clear at any rate: all texts of the PT interpret "seed" of the HT as a collectivity. Even in N there can be no question of taking it to refer to the Messiah, seeing that the paraphrase informs us that this "seed", i.e. the son or sons of the woman, might not observe the precepts of the Law. Such would be inconceivable for the Messiah.

The Messianic interpretation of the PT is connected with עקב, "the heel", not with "the seed". עקב is first rendered literally and then taken

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([85]) Cf. G. DALMAN, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1905, p. 199.

([86]) *Ibid.*

([87]) Note that O renders הוא of "He (it?) shall crush your head" as singular although it translates "seed" as "sons". In thus rendering הוא O was probably affected by the underlying HT; cf. MICHL, *a. c.*, p. 375, n. 1.

([88]) This actual form is not attested in the examples given by G. DALMAN, *l. c.* or M. JASTROW, *Dictionary*, *s. v.*, pp. 188 f. JASTROW notes that some ed. of the PT to Ex 10,9 have the absolute and construct forms ברי, ברין. With suffixes we find ברי, "my sons"; ברוי, "his sons"; ברנא, "our sons"; see DALMAN, *o. c.*, pp. 199 f.

in its transferred sense of "final period, end of the days" (89) which is considered to be Messianic times. In Messianic times the sons of the woman will make a "cure", שפיותא, for the heel, i.e. the serpent will no longer be able to overpower them. The exact form and meaning of this term is uncertain (90). The context in which we find it, and the parallelism with אסו, "remedy", show that it bears some meaning like "cure" or "remedy" (91).

Another question to be solved is whether the serpent in the PT paraphrase is taken as a symbol, of Satan or some other power, or whether it is to be understood in the plain zoological sense. The entire context seems to indicate that we are to understand serpent as a symbol, preferably of Satan, who will win occasional victories against mankind until a remedy is supplied against his attacks in the days of King Messiah.

I have been unable to find a Messianic interpretation of Gn 3,15 in rabbinic sources (92). The nearest parallel I have been able to find to

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(89) Cf. F. ZORELL, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum* V. T., Rome 1963, p. 622 who gives as a meaning of עקב: "sequens, futurum tempus, in posterum", citing Ps 119,33.112; cf. the Hebrew text of Sir 16,3 where the word means: *futurum vel ultima sors alicuius*; ZORELL, *ibid.*

(90) The forms of the word are as follows: TJII Polyglot and a citation from ELIAS LEVITA: שפו(י)יתא; TJII, Paris 110 שופייתא; N. שפיותיה: TJI: שפיתא. Going on שיפיותא of Pal. Talmud *Yeb.* IV, 5 d., top, M. JASTROW (*o. c.* p. 1615) understands the word in PT Gn 3,15 as "peace, compromise".

(91) In TJI, WALTON renders the word as "medicina" and in TJII as "incolumitas".

(92) A midrash similar to the PT Gn 3,15 is referred to in the Zohar but has no reference to the Messiah; see M. M. KASHER, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation. A Millennial Anthology*, translated under the editorship of Rabbi Dr. Harry FREEDMAN, Genesis, Vol. 1, New York 1953, p. 132, no. 53. The references to Gn 3,15 found in Jubilees, 1 Enoch, JOSEPHUS and PHILO given by J. MICHL, *l. c.*, pp. 381-388, have no parallel to the PT on the verse. Neither do the notes of L. GINZBERG to the midrash offer a true parallel. Str.-B., I, 485 f. to Mt 8,20, believe that in the Parables of Enoch (62,7.9.14; 63,11; 69,26.27; 70,1) Gn 3,15 receives a Messianic interpretation, as in these passages the Messiah, or Son of Man, is called "Sohn der Nachkommenschaft der Mutter der Lebendigen". This has come about, they say, by interpreting Dn 7,13 in the light of Gn 3,15. The Son of Man would then be seen here as the descendent of Eve, the Mother of the Living. It is well known, of course (and noted by Str.-B., *l. c.*), that the Ethiopic version of Enoch uses various terms for the "Son of Man". Beside this phrase, we find the expressions "Son of a Man" and the one cited already, "Son of the Offspring of the Mother of the Living". S. MOWINCKEL (*He That Cometh*, Oxford 1956, p. 362) notes that the last of these phrases is the regular rendering of "the Son of Man" in the Ethiopic NT. "All three expressions", he continues,

the PT paraphrase is a saying of R. Levi (PA 3, c. 320) according to which "in the future world all will be healed except the serpent and the Gibeonite" (*Gen. R.* 20 to 3,15) (93). This PT paraphrase is, then, very probably a very old one and, considered in itself, has every chance of being pre-Christian.

3. *PT Gn 3,15 and Ap 12,17* (94): The Apocalypse uses a number of names for the enemy of the human race, Satan (2,9.13.24; 3,9; 12,9; 20,2.7), the Devil (2,10; 12,9.12.20; 20,10), the Dragon (12,3.4.7.9.13.16.17; 13,2.4.11; 16,13; 20,2), the (Ancient) Serpent (12,9.14.15; 20,2). In Ap 12 he is first introduced as "the Dragon" (*ὁ δράκων*) and wages war in heaven against Michael and his angels. We shall see presently that John names him "the Dragon" in this passage because he considers Satan as typified by Egypt, which is called "the Dragon" (*ὁ δράκων*) in a number of biblical texts. When he is cast out of heaven (15,12 f.) to pursue the Woman and her seed on earth, he is called "that ancient serpent (*ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος*) ... the deceiver of the whole world" (12,9). In styling him "the ancient serpent", John is clearly identifying him with the serpent of Gn 3 who deceived Eve, the mother of all the living (Gn 3,20). The serpent of Genesis is called in the same manner in rabbinic writings, i.e. נחש הקדמוני , נחש הראשון.

On seeing that he was powerless against the Woman on earth, the serpent "went off to make war with the rest of her offspring who keep the commandments of God and bear the testimony of Jesus" (12,17); *μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηροῦντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.*

Here "the seed of the woman" is taken collectively. The reference to Gn 3,15 appears clear enough from this phrase (96) alone, but is rendered

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"render *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, which is used by the Greek translator (of Enoch) to represent the phrase in the Semitic original" which stood for "the Son of Man". He does not consider it an important point that the translator used three different expressions to render the same original, as the translator does not follow a strict rule of uniformity in his rendering of particular words and phrases. His choice of "Son of the Offspring of the Mother of the Living" was evidently influenced by the Ethiopic NT version (*ibid.*). Scarcely any argument, then, can be based on the presence of the expression in the Ethiopic version of Enoch.

(93) J. LEVY, *WT*, p. 506 explains PT Gn 3,15 through this text of *Gen. R.* The two texts are evidently quite different in spirit.

(94) See the bibliography cited below in n. 97.

(95) The texts are given in Str.-B. I, pp. 138 f. to Mt 4,1.

(96) "En effet, la formule *σπέρμα αὐτῆς*, pour désigner la descendence de la femme est si peu banale que son usage par *Gen.*, III et *Apoc.*, XII, dans un

all the more probable when we read that "the ancient serpent" made war on the seed of the woman. In Ap 3,17, then, as in the PT, we have "the seed" of Gn 3,15 understood as a collectivity. The fact that this seed is said "*to keep the commandments* of God" (*τηροῦντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ*) recalls TJI's paraphrase: "when the children (i. e. the seed) of the *Woman keep the commandments* of the Law...".

When we consider this somewhat close parallel, and recall that the Apocalypse shows so many contacts with the PT, we are justified in believing that this passage of the work is dependent on the manner in which Gn 3,15 is viewed in this same liturgical rendering.

V. **Apocalypse 12 and Jewish Sources** [97]

Ap 12, in particular the opening verses (1-6) on the mysterious Woman about to bear a son, has been the passage most used by critics in their attempt to connect the work with the legends of the surrouding peoples. A. DIETRICH [98] saw beneath it the Greek legend on Leto, made pregnant by Zeus and pursued by the serpent Python. H. GUNKEL [99] explained it as dependent on the Babylonian tradition of Marduk and his war on the monster Tiamat. A. JEREMIAS [100] prefers to see in it the influence of a Mandaean form of the Babylonian legend, while W.

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contexte semblable, dénote un contact littéraire indéniable"; L. CERFAUX, "La vision de la femme et du dragon de l'Apocalypse en relation avec le Protévangile", *ETL* 31 (1955) 26.

[97] Cf. A. SCHLATTER, *Das AT in der joh. Apk.*, p. 67-71; P. JOÜON, "Le grand Dragon, l'ancien Serpent; Apoc. 12,9 et Genèse 3,14", *RSR* 17 (1927) 444-46; E. LOHMEYER, "Das 12. Kapitel der Offenbarung Johannis", *TheolBlätt* 4 (1925) 285-91; B. RENZ, *Der orientalische Schlangendrache*, Augsburg 1930; W. FOERSTER, "Die Bilder in Offenbarung 12 f. und 17 f. " *TheolStud undKrit* 104 (1932) 279-310; J. MICHL; *a. c.*; P. RIGAUX, "La femme et son lignage dans Gen. 3,14-15", *RB* 61 (1954) 321-48; F. M. BRAUN, "La Femme et le Dragon (Apocalypse 12,1-12)", *BibVC* No. 7 (1954) 63-71; L. CERFAUX, *a. c. ETL* 31 (1955) 21-33; see also the commentaries, e. g., W. BOUSSET, pp. 336 f.; 346 ff.; R. H. CHARLES, I pp. 298 ff.; 310 ff.; 317 ff.; E. LOHMEYER 2nd ed., pp. 94 f., etc.

[98] *Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums*, Leipzig 1891.

[99] *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. I und Ap. Joh. XII*, Göttingen 1894, 2nd. ed. 1921; pp. 171-398.

[100] *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 34-45.

BOUSSET ([101]) favours a combined influence of Iranian and Egyptian myths. Other writers see dependence on the part of John on a general and widespread legend on the birth of a heavenly Redeemer ([102]).

After his outline of the views of the comparative school of interpretation and the advantages that can accrue from the method for biblical studies, A. FEUILLET writes ([103]):

> Mais l'Apocalypse est un livre biblique; c'est donc avant tout à la Bible qu'il convient de demander le sens de ses symboles. Par ex. s'il est vraie que l'image de l'aigle de XII, 4 s'explique par Ex., XIX, 4; Deut., XXXII, 11; Is., XL, 31, il n'est nul besoin de recourir à l'interprétation de Boll (la constellation de l'aigle) ni non plus au thème mandéen signalé par Lohmeyer: Miryai poursuivie par les Juifs est secourue par Anosch qui descend sous la forme d'un aigle blanc.

There are other indications beyond the reference to Ex 19,4 and Dt 32,11 which indicate that in ch 12 the Seer of Patmos is thinking against a biblical background, against that of the Exodus from Egypt in particular. The flight of the Woman into the wilderness where she was nourished for a period of time (v. 6) recalls Israel being fed by manna in the Desert of Sinai. And we have already seen how 12,17 is related to Gn 3,15 and the PT paraphrase of this same verse. Since it is psychologically unlikely that the author is passing in ch 12 from biblical to pagan parallels, the context calls on us to interpret the entire chapter, in as far as possible, in the light of the OT and Jewish traditions ([104]). The task that confronts one who wishes to do this is to seek the origin of the symbolism which the work uses, and determine the particular background against which the author is thinking.

([101]) In his commentary *l. c.*, in n. 97.

([102]) E. g., H. LIETZMANN, *Der Weltheiland*, Bonn 1909; E. NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, Leipzig/Berlin 1931; R. H. CHARLES, *l. c.* in n. 97 above. For these views see A. FEUILLET, "Les diverses méthodes d'interprétation de l'Apocalypse et les commentaires récents", *L'Ami du Clergé* 71 (1961) 266.

([103]) *A. c.*, p. 267.

([104]) A. SCHLATTER says there is no parallel from (Jewish) tradition to be found to the heavenly war of Ap 12,7 ff.; the parallel he cites is Is 27,1 (*a. c.*, pp. 67 f.). W. FOERSTER, too, (*a. c.*, p. 284) has a similar view. It may be possible to determine the non-biblical sources from which the Apocalyptist drew, as we shall see.

We come first of all to consider from what source he has borrowed the image of the dragon (*ὁ δράκων*). We naturally turn to the OT where we find the sea-monster (HT: *tannim*; LXX: *ὁ δράκων*) and Rahab used as a symbol of Pharaoh or of Egypt (105). The victory at the Red Sea and the destruction of Pharaoh is described in Is 51,9 as the smiting of the sea-monster Rahab and the piercing of the dragon; (cf. also Ps 73 [74], 13). In Ez 29,3 Pharaoh is called "the great dragon (... *τὸν δράκοντα τὸν μέγαν*) that lies in the midst of his streams" and says that the Nile is his, he created it. The same idea occurs in Ez 32,2. It is natural, then, to see in the dragon of Ap 12 a symbol for Egypt (a name applied "spiritually" to Jerusalem in Ap 11,8 to denote its servitude!), for Pharaoh or for the angel of Egypt. All amount to the same thing, representing the enemy of the people of God at the first Exodus.

This view of the dragon leads one to see in the Woman a symbol for the people of God (106) who is about to give birth to "the son of God", her firstborn. In a context of the first Exodus the son would naturally be Israel itself, called God's firstborn child in Ex 4,22. She is clothed with the sun. This is a good Jewish manner of saying she appeared in all her splendour. We may recall the words of *LAB* 12,1, already cited according to which Moses descended from Sinai "perfusus... lumine invisibili... et vicit lumine faciei sue splendorem solis et lune". *Sifre, Num* 140 to 27,20 (107) compares the splendour of Moses' face to that of the sun and the splendour of Joshua's to that of the moon. And Mt 17,2 says that at the Transfiguration the face of Christ shone like the sun (108) and his garments became white as light. What the symbolism of the moon under the feet of the Woman of Ap 12,1 is, we cannot say. The twelve stars as a crown about her head probably refer to the twelve tribes,

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(105) For later traditions on Rahab as the angel of Egypt or the angel of the sea, and her activity and fate at the Exodus, see L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, III, p. 25; VI, p. 8.

(106) The bearing of Is. 26,17 and 66,7 where Sion, about to bring forth the New Israel, is compared to a woman in travail, the bearing of these texts on Ap 12 has naturally been noted. On this point see A. FEUILLET, "La Messie et sa Mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse", *RB* 66 (1959) 55-86 = *Études Johanniques* (Museum Lessianum, Section biblique no. 4), Desclée de Brouwer 1962, pp. 272-310.

(107) P. 321 of K. G. KUHN's ed., *Sifre zu Numeri*, Stuttgart 1959.

(108) The passage of Mt may contain an intentional reference to the glory of Moses' face; cf. W. D. DAVIES, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 51 f.

who are compared to stars in Gn 37,9-11 ([109]). The same is found in the PT to Gn 50,21 and *Gen. R.* 100, where we read that ten stars (i.e. sons of Jacob) desired to kill one star.

Both the figure of the dragon and the woman crowned with twelve stars indicate that the Seer's symbolism is drawn from the history of Israel before its redemption from Egypt. When we read of the dragon standing before the woman about to bear, that he might devour the child, (12,4) we think of the persecution of Israel in Egypt on the part of Pharaoh. This first part of the scene is placed in the heavens. The idea appears to be that which we find elsewhere in Apocalyptic and Jewish literature, viz. that the affairs of earth are first enacted, i. e. decreed, in heaven before they take place on earth. When Daniel wished to console and strengthen those persecuted by Epiphanes, he did so by recounting how the fate of the persecutor was irrevocably decreed in heaven by God (Dn 7 etc.).

Dn 10,13 - 11,1 tells of a struggle between the angels of Greece and Persia, and Michael, the tutelary angel of the Jews. At the Exodus, too, Israel had its angelic accuser before God. In the Book of Jubilees this accuser appears as Mastema, who was, however, bound by God before the Exodus so that he could no longer accuse them (Jub 15,13 ff.). Mastema can here be taken as the angel of Egypt and the enemy of Israel. We read in the Mekilta, Shirata 2, to Ex 15,4 that the angel of Egypt was first cast into the sea before the Egyptian forces were destroyed. This is according to the general principle that the guardian angel is punished before his earthly protegees are. The same idea of an accusation against the people of Israel, who are about to be liberated, by some angelic power or powers is often mentioned in later midrashim ([110]). In some texts a veritable war takes place between Michael and these angelic spirits before Egypt is finally destroyed. In the *Yalquṭ* and *Midrash Wayyosha* the conflict in the heavens is between Michael and the two magicians Jannes and Jambres ([111]), the brothers being finally destroyed in the Red Sea. This belief in angelic opposition to Israel and a struggle

([109]) The use of the symbolism of stars to represent the tribes in Judaism (cf. Cant and the Test. of Naphtali 5,3 f.) has been noted by exegetes; cf. E. B. ALLO on Ap 12,1; A. FEUILLET, *a. c.* ("Le Messie et sa Mère...") pp. 288 f.

([110]) These legends are collected by L. GINZBERG, *The Legends...* III, pp. 25; the notes in Vol. VI indicate his sources and give abundant parallels.

([111]) These legends on Jannes and Jambres can be seen in Str.-B., III to 2 Tm 3,8, pp. 660-64; see above pp. 82 ff.

with Michael, the defender of Israel, is then an old and constant one in Judaism. It is probably to it that Ap 12,7 ff. refers when it speaks of the war in heaven between the dragon = the angel of Egypt, and Michael. The cry of joy in heaven at the downthrow of the dragon (12,10 "Now the *salvation* and the power and the *kingdom* of our God and the authority of his Christ have come") recalls the PT paraphrase to Ex 15,18 at the destruction of Pharaoh and his armies: "Come! let us place the crown of *majesty* on the head of our *Redeemer*... for his is the crown of *kingship*... His it is and shall be for ever and ever!"

When the dragon had been thrown down to earth he pursued after the woman who had now borne the child. The woman is given two wings of the great eagle that she may fly into the wilderness from the serpent-dragon (12,13 f.). The reference will be to Israel's flight from Pharaoh into the wilderness of Sinai. She was borne there on eagle's wings according to Ex 19,4; Dt 32,11. The serpent-dragon poured water like a river out of his mouth after the woman to sweep her away with the flood. They are the waters of destruction and probably refer to the pursuit of Israel by Pharaoh and his forces (Ex 14,5 ff.). *The earth* came to the aid of the woman "*and opened its mouth and swallowed* (*κατέπιεν*) the river which the dragon had poured from its mouth" (12,16) ([112]). This reminds one of Ex 15,12 which says of the Egyptian forces that "*the earth swallowed* them", rendered in the LXX as *κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς γῆ*. The PT paraphrase of the passage ("*the earth opened its mouth and swallowed* them") are the actual words used by the Apocalypse!

These considerations on the relation of Ap 12,17 to PT Gn 3,15, and of the remainder of the chapter to the OT and Jewish sources, tend to show that this entire chapter can easily be explained without recourse to extra-Jewish material. The author, as elsewhere throughout his work, is thinking against the background of the Satanic opposition to God and of the divine victory at the first Exodus. This he takes as a type of what now takes place in the Redemption which God has worked through Christ, the second and final Exodus. This excursus into the bearing of Jewish material on the understanding of Ap 12 as a whole is somewhat incidental to the central theme of this dissertation but appears warranted in view of the relation of PT Gn 3,15 to Ap 12,17.

([112]) That Ap 12,16 contains an allusion to Ex 15,12 has been recognized by some commentators; cf., e. g., M. KIDDLE, *The Revelation of St. John* (The Moffat NT Commentary), London 1940, p. 237. A. M. DUBARLE, *Mélanges Robert*, Paris 1957, pp. 513.515.517, sees a citation from Nm 16,32; cf. however p. 515.

VI. Christians Made a Kingdom and Priests to God; Ap 1,6; 5,10 and the Targums to Ex 19,6

The author of the Apocalypse says twice that the faithful, whom Christ has redeemed by his Blood, have been made a kingdom and priests by him. The first text occurs in the general salutation prefixed to the letters to the Seven Churches (1,5 f.).

> To him who loves us and has freed us from our sins... (6) and has made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father (*βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*), to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

The general Exodus background of this passage is clear. As Israel was made a kingdom of priests after the redemption from Egypt (Ex 19,6), so is the new Israel made a kingdom, priests by Christ after he has freed them from the servitude of sin. In the present context we see that the faithful are considered a kingdom, priests already in earth.

In the second text to be considered the same expression occurs in a slightly different form, "kingdom *and* priests" . It comes at the end of the hymn that is sung after the Lamb has been introduced and enthroned, according to our understanding of the passage ([112a]). The hymn is sung by the four living creatures and the twenty four elders, and is as follows (5,9 f.):

> "Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, (10) and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God (*καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖαν καὶ ἱερεῖς*), and they (shall) reign on earth".

Textual criticism is divided on the exact reading, *βασιλεύσουσιν* or *βασιλέουσιν*, at the end of the passage. If the future is the true one the text probably refers to the millennium and Ap 20,6, where it is said of those who participate in the first resurrection: "Over such the second death shall have no power, but they shall be *priests of God* and of Christ and *shall reign* (*βασιλεύσουσιν*) with him a thousand years". From the point of view of textual criticism the weightier reading for 1,6 and 5,10 is *βασιλεία* (*καὶ*) *ἱερεῖς*, though some MSS have *βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς*

([112a]) Above pp. 205 f.

in both places and VON SODEN (113) prefers this reading for 5,10. It is a form found only in the *Koine* recension and appears to be due to a harmonization of *βασιλεῖα* to *ἱερεῖς*.

In Ap 1,6 and 5,10 there is an evident reference to Ex 19,6, where Yahweh says to the people of Israel which he has brought out of Egypt that if they obey his voice and do his commandments:

אתם תהיו לי ממלכת "You shall be to me a Kingdom
כהנים וגוי קדוש. of priests and a holy nation".

The LXX rendered this as *ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον* and this LXX text is reproduced in 1 Pt 2,9 when he speaks of the royal priesthood of the Christians. The Apocalypse texts are clearly not reproducing the LXX, a rendering that was possibly unknown to its author. We may compare his texts with the targumic understanding of Ex 19,6. N, TJII and PTG, MS F (10-11th cent.) (114) render:

אתון תהוון לשמי "You shall be to my Name
מלכין וכהנין ואומא קדישא. kings and priests and a holy nation".

The rendering of O is practically identical:

אתון תהוון קדמי "You shall be before me
מלכין וכהנין ועמא קדישא. kings and priests and a holy people".

TJI has a longer text than O but its text is closer to O than it is to N, TJII or PTG, MS F. It has:

אתון תהון קדמי "You shall be before me
מלכין קטירי כלילא kings bearing crowns
וכהנין משמשין ועם קדיש. and serving priests and a holy people".

All texts of the Tgs, then, take ממלכת כהנים as two distinct substantives, referring to two separate privileges, just as the Apocalypse texts do. Whereas John speaks of "a kingdom and priests", the Tgs paraphrase as "kings and priests". The Apocalypse and Tgs do not here coincide perfectly unless we take the *Koine* reading of 1,6 and 5,10 as the original one,

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(113) H. F. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testament in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, II, Göttingen 1913, p. 854.

(114) In *MdW*, p. 56.

a point that is most unlikely from the evidence of textual criticism. The targumic exegesis of Ex 19,6 is, in any case, a very old one as we find that early Jewish tradition saw three separate privileges conferred on the Israelites in Ex 19,6. This is clear from 2 Macc 2,17 where the Jews of Palestine remind their brethren in Egypt that, when God saved his people from Egypt, he conferred on all *τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὸ ἱεράπευμα καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν.*

It is also quite possible that the LXX text *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον* speaks of three privileges, i. e. *βασίλειον* is to be understood as "kingship" and not taken as an adjective ("royal") qualifying *ἱεράτευμα. Βασίλειον* in profane Greek, mostly however in the plural, means "a palace" or "a royal tent". In the "LXX" to Dn 5,30, however, in a rendering that does not correspond to the MT, *βασίλειον* is used in the sense of "kingdom" or "royalty". Some commentators, e. g. A. H. McNeile [115], and Hort followed by H. B. Swete [116], believe that the LXX to Ex 19,16 is to be understood as containing three substantives. In the Greek rendering used by Philo *βασίλειον* is separated from *ἱεράτευμα* by *καὶ* on the two occasions he cites the passage, i. e. *De Abr.* 56: *βασίλειον καὶ ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον* and *De Sob.* 66: *βασίλειον καὶ ἱεράτευμα θεοῦ.* In this latter text he goes on to explain: *βασίλειον γὰρ ὁ βασιλέως δήπουθεν οἶκος.*

The Peshitta renders Ex 19,6 as

אנתון תהוון לי "You shall be to me
מלכותא וכהנא ועמא קדישא. *a kingdom and priests* and a holy people".

This is actually the exact form which we find in the Apocalypse. It is possible, however, that the Peshitta is here dependent on the NT text.

According to a gloss preserved in the Syro-Hexaplar, reproduced by F. Field [117], Symmachus and Theodotion have the same reading as the Peshitta, i. e. מלכותא כהנא = *βασίλεια ἱερεῖς.* The relationship of this and other Ap. texts to Theod. has been noted by H. B. Swete [118]. The reading of Theodotion and Symmachus as given by Field is not in the

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[115] *The Book of Exodus* (Westminster Commentaries), London 1908, p. 111.

[116] *The Apocalypse of St John*, 2nd ed., London 1907, p. 8.

[117] *Origenis Hexapla quae supersunt*, I, Oxford 1875, p. 114.

[118] *O. c.*, p. 8; on the use of Theod. (to Daniel) in the Apocalypse see *id., Introduction to the OT in Greek*, Cambridge, 1902 and 1914 ed., p. 48.

least certain. BROOKE - MCLEAN ([119]) give another reading of this pair as preserved in the Vatican MS Gr 330, i.e. *βασιλει[α] ἱερέων*. This is also the rendering of Aquila.

We may conclude that in Ap 1,5; 5,10 John is going on a very early Jewish understanding of Ex 19,6. The exact form of his text is not found in any Tg, the Peshitta apart, which, however, may be dependent on John. Like the Tgs, 2 Macc 2,17 and PHILO, he takes Ex 19,6 to speak of three privileges conferred on Israel, one of which was kingship or royal dignity.

VII. The Messiah in Ap 19,11-16 and PT Gn 49,11 f. ([120])

In Ap 19 we read of the triumph of the heavenly powers over the enemies of God on earth. The account opens with an acclamation of God who has condemned the harlot (1 f.). This hymn is taken up (3-5) and entered into by a great multitude (6-8). Then an invitation to the marriage supper of the Lamb is given (9 f.). After this Christ appears as a heavenly warrior about to destroy his enemies (11-16). The birds are invited to partake of the flesh of the fallen (17 f.) whose destruction is narrated in 19-21. Christ, the heavenly warrior, is described as follows:

> (11) Then I saw the heaven opened, and behold, a white horse! And he who sat upon it is called Faithful and True, and *in righteousness* he judges and makes war. (12) *His eyes* are like a flame of fire, and on his head are many diadems; and he has a name inscribed which no one knows but himself. (13) *He is clad in a robe dipped in blood*, and the name by which he is called is the Word of God. (14) And the armies of heaven, arrayed in fine linen, white and pure, followed him on white horses. (15) From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations, and he will rule them with a rod of iron; *he will tread the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God the Al-*

([119]) *The OT in Greek*, Cambridge 1917, vol. I, p. 216.

([120]) For a detailed study of this question cf. P. GRELOT, "L'exégèse messianique d'Isaïe, LXIII,1-6", *RB* 70 (1963) 371-80.

> *mighty.* (16) On his robe and on his thigh he has a name inscribed, King of kings and Lord of lords.

The reference to Is 11,4 in Ap 19,11, and to Ps 2,9 in 19,15, make it clear that the person in question in this text is the Son of David, who is presented to us as a warring Messiah whose robe is sodden with the blood of his enemies whom he is conceived as having slain (13). He will wade through their blood as a presser of grapes in a winepress (15).

Ap 19,13a.15b is clearly dependent on Is 63,1-6 where Yahweh, depicted as returning after having avenged himself on Edom, is represented as saying: "*I have trodden the winepress* alone, and from the peoples no one was with me. I have trod them in my anger and trampled them in my wrath; *their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, I have stained all my raiment*" (Is 63,3).

The Apocalypse has transferred to Christ what the text of Isaiah predicated of Yahweh. This in itself causes no surprise whatever. It is quite possible, however, that the figure of the Warring Messiah which we find in Ap 19,13.15 is not the work of the NT Seer but was taken over by him from Jewish doctrine. In the PT to Gn 49,11 we are presented with the same figure of the Messiah we find in Ap 19,13 ff., i. e. a Warrior with clothes saturated with the blood of his enemies. Like Ap 19,13.15 the PT borrows the terms of Is 63 to portray the warlike Messiah.

We possess the PT to Gn 49,11 f. in TJI, TJII and in N. As usual, there are certain differences between the manner in which the various recensions present the same essential paraphrase of the HT. The HT itself speaks of the fertility of the land of the tribe of Judah. Its text is as follows:

> (49,11) Binding his foal to the vine and his ass's colt to the choice vine, he washes his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of grapes; (12) his eyes shall be red with wine and his teeth white with milk.

([121]) The bearing of the PT to Gn 49,11 on Ap 19,13 was perceived by A. SCHLATTER, *Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse* (= Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, vol. 16, Heft 6), Gütersloh 1912, p. 47 and later, independently, by R. H. CHARLES (*Revelation*, II, ICC, Edinburgh 1920, p. 134, *in loc.*). The point was first fully studied by P. GRELOT, "Le Messie dans les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament" in *La Venue du Messie* (= Recherches Bibliques, VI), Bruges-Paris 1962, pp. 27 f. and *a.c.*, n. 120 above.

TJII and N paraphrase as follows — (italics denote the places where the paraphrase adheres to the HT; bold type those where it borrows from Is 63):

מה יאי הוא מלכא משיחא	How beautiful is King Messiah
דעתיד למיקם מדבית	who is to arise from among those
יהודה אסר	of the house of Judah! *He girds*
חרצוי ונפק לקרבא	*his* loins and goes out to wage war
על שנאוי ומקטל	on those that hate him, and slays
מלכין עם שלטונין מסמק	kings with their rulers, making
טורייא מדם	the mountains red with the blood
קטיליהון ומחוור גלמתא	of their slain and making the hills
מתרבי גיבריהון[122]	white with the fat of their warriors
לבושוי מענענין	and **his vestments are soaked in**
בדמא מדמי לרפוס ענבים .	**blood. He is like a presser of grapes.**

The PT renders Gn 49,12 as follows:

> More beautiful are the *eyes* of King Messiah to behold than pure *wine*! He cannot look with them on unchastity or on the shedding of innocent blood. *His teeth* are *purer* than *milk*. He cannot eat with them what is stolen (N, TJII: חמיסין: TJI חטוף) or taken by violence (N, TJII: גזילין; TJI אנוסא)[123]. His mountains shall become red from vines and his winepresses from wine, and his hills shall become white from the abundance of corn and sheepfolds.

Comparing the figure of the Messiah in Ap 19,11 ff. and PT Gn 49,11 f. we find that in both the Messiah's robe is sodden with blood (Ap 19,13; PT Gn 49,11), both drawing on Is 63,2 in thus describing him. Ap 19,11b-12 says that the warring Christ goes forth from heaven and "in *righteousness* he judges and makes war; his eyes are like a flame of fire". It is natural

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[122] Thus TJII, supported by the present context and Tg Is 63,6, which probably retains an old Palestinian rendering of this passage of Isaiah, a rendering affected by the PT to Gn 49,11. N has גוברוהון, "their men". In the Aramaic we follow N which we correct occasionally according to TJII. "And making the hills white with the fat of their warriors" is wanting in TJI. The HT and parallelism clearly indicate that the passage formed part of the PT, and that TJI is here defective.

[123] Cf. above pp. 144 f.

to see in this characteristic of his eyes an indication of his zeal for righteousness. The PT to Gn 49,12 notes that King Messiah's *eyes* are beautiful like pure wine; "he cannot look on unchastity or on the shedding of innocent blood", i. e. his eyes indicate his zeal for righteousness.

When we consider that the Apocalypse appears to bear a close relation to the PT in many other places we are led to surmise that here too its author knew of the PT rendering to Gn 49,11 f. and is influenced in his thought and language by it.

Though occasional references to a Messianic interpretation of Gn 49,11 f. are met in later rabbinic literature, none of them is in the spirit of the PT paraphrase. It appears that in this we are in the presence of a very old pre-Christian rendering which is quite in accord with the expectations of the warlike Messiah who, as we know from JOSEPHUS ([124]) and other sources, was awaited by the Jews in the NT period. This fact is sufficient explanation of the absence of the use of Gn 49,10 ff. from all other passages of the NT. Had Christ or his Apostles used this it would have awakened these expectations in the minds of their audiences and risked having the true character of Christianity misconstrued. There was no danger of this in a writing such as the Apocalypse, and its author was permitted to draw on Jewish tradition that could not be availed of in other contexts.

VIII. The Defeat of the Forces of Gog; Ap 20,8 f. and TJI Nm 11,26([125])

The continuation of the passage which we have just considered, i. e. in Ap 19,17-21, goes on to narrate the destruction of the beast and the

([124]) *BJ*, 6,5,4, §§ 312 f.; TACITUS, *Hist.* 5,13; SUETONIUS, *Vesp.*, 4. A. POSNANSKI (*Schilo*, Leipzig 1904, p. 16) thinks that both TACITUS and SUETONIUS depend on JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. THACKERAY (in the Loeb ed. of *BJ*, London 1928, p. 467, n. *b*) denies this. For a discussion of the texts and question see E. NORDEN, "Tacitus und Josephus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Prophetie", *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum*, 31 (1913) 637-66; P. CORSSEN, "Die Zeugnisse des Tacitus und Pseudo-Josephus über Christus", *ZNW* 15 (1914) 114-40; GUTTMANN, *Die Darstellung der jüdischen Religion bei Flavius Josephus*, Breslau 1928, pp. 312 f. With the targumic interpretation of Gn 49,10 cp. "4Q Patriarchal Blessings" *JBL* 75 [1956] 174-76.

([125]) Cf. A. SCHLATTER, *Das A. T. in der johann. Apok.*, pp. 93 ff.; KUHN, "*Gôg kai Magôg*", *TWNT* 1 (1933) 790-92; W. BOUSSET - H. GRESSMANN, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1926, pp. 219 f., p. 220 for the targumic texts on Gog and Magog. The texts are collected by Str.-B., IV, pp. 802 ff.

false prophet and of the kings of the earth and their armies who had gathered to make war on Christ. In this passage the author is using language and imagery borrowed from Ez 39,4.17-21, a text that narrates the destruction of Gog, from the land of Magog, after his attack on the Holy City.

In the following chapter the author narrates the events that take place during the millennium and after. During the period, "the dragon, who is the Devil and Satan", is bound and thrown into the pit (20,2 f.). Concurrently with this imprisonment of the ancient serpent, the souls of those who were put to death for the testimony of Jesus enjoy a period of bliss (20,4). At the end of the millennium the rest of the dead come to life. This is the first resurrection (20,5). 20,7 ff. continues the idea of v. 3:

> And when the thousand years are ended Satan will be loosed from his prison (8) and will come out to deceive *the nations which are at the four corners of the earth, that is, Gog and Magog,* to gather them for battle; their number is like the sand of the sea. (9) And they marched up over the broad earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city; *but fire came down from heaven and consumed them.*

The devil is then thrown into the lake of fire, where the beast and the false prophet are already being tormented. 20,11 f. goes on to describe the judgement scene while 13 tells of the general resurrection, when the sea, Death and Hades gave up "the dead that were in them, and all were judged by what they had done". After this there follows the creation of a new heaven and a new earth and of the New Jerusalem (21,1 ff.).

In this sequence, i. e. the Millennium (Ap 20,4-6), Gog and Magog (20,7-10), the General Resurrection and Judgement (20,11-15), the New Heaven, the New Earth and the New Jerusalem (21,1 ff.), John is following a traditional pattern which is ultimately based on Ez chh 37 - 40 ff., chapters that speak of the Messianic Kingdom (Ez 37), Gog from Magog and his destruction (Ez 38 - 39), the New Jerusalem (Ez 40 ff.) ([126]). The chief differences between the two accounts are that Ezekiel does not speak of the Resurrection as Ap 20,11-15 does, and that this latter mentions Gog and Magog whereas Ezekiel speaks of Gog from the land of Magog (Ez 38,2). This latter difference can easily be explained by Jewish tradition that uses the same expression, "Gog and Magog", as the Apocalypse. When Ap 19,9 says that Gog and Magog, i. e. the nations that ascended

([126]) Cf. KUHN, *a. c.*, pp. 790 f.

against Jerusalem, were destroyed by fire from heaven he may be thinking of Ez 38,22, and may also be dependent on rabbinic tradition that speaks of the destruction of Gog by fire (127). These rabbinic texts mention the tradition rather than describe the destruction itself. It is for this reason that we believe TJI Nm 11,26 merits consideration, as it narrates the destruction of Gog by fire from heaven and tells of the resurrection immediately after this, thus offering a parallel to the passage of the Apocalypse under consideration.

The HT to Nm 11,26 speaks of Eldad and Medad prophesying in the camp during the desert wanderings. The question naturally arises as to the subject of their prophetic activity. PSEUDO-PHILO (*LAB* 20,5) says that it was to the effect that Moses would die and that Joshua would succeed him. *Sifre Num* to Nm 11,26 says that they prophesied about the future. A saying attributed to R. Nehemiah (c. 160 A.D.) (128) in *Sanh.* 17a says the pair prophesied about Gog and Magog. This is the manner in which the PT understands the verse, although it also preserves the tradition mentioned in *LAB* 20,5. The first part of the prophecy is the same in all PT texts (i. e. TJI, TJII, N), apart from an inverted order in some representatives of the PT (128a). We render TJI here (italics denote the biblical text):

> *And there remained two men in the camp. The name of one was Eldad and the name of the second was Medad...* and the spirit of prophecy rested on them (129). Eldad prophesied and said: "Lo!, Moses dies (lit. 'is being gathered from the world') and Joshua bar Nun serves the camp after him and leads the people of the house of Israel and brings them in to the land of Canaan and gives it to them as their possession". Medad prophesied and said: "Lo! Quail ascend from the sea and cover the entire camp of Israel and shall be a snare to the people".

(127) See the texts in Str.-B. III, 837 f. sub. *a*.

(128) Cf. Str.-B., III, p. 838, n. 1.

(128a) For verbal differences see above p. 194, note 76; cf. also pp. 144 f.

(129) In Aramaic שרת על. N and TJII have: "(a) holy spirit rested on them". With this text we can compare Acts 2,3 (*καθίζειν ἐπί*) and Jn 1,32 f. (*μένειν ἐπί*). M. WILCOX (*The Semitisms of Acts*, Oxford 1965, p. 102) has drawn attention to an unpublished note of WENSINCK which gives TJII Nm 11,26 as a parallel to these NT texts. "To sit on", *καθίζει ἐπί*, Acts 2,3 (cf. Jn 1,32 f.) is not a septuagentalism, nor is it found in biblical Hebrew" (WILCOX, *ibid.*).

The remainder of the prophecy is on Gog and Magog and in all PT texts is given by both Eldad and Medad. In this part the PT divides. N and TJII, with practically identical texts, speak of the destruction of Gog and Magog by King Messiah, whereas TJI tells of the destruction of Gog by fire from heaven. We first give the text of N and TJII — (italics as above):

> And both of them prophesied together and said: "At the very end of the days Gog and Magog (will) ascend on Jerusalem and by the hands of King Messiah they fall. And for seven years (TJII adds: "of days") the children of Israel will kindle fire from their instruments of war (cf. Ez 39,9 f.; TJII adds: "and they shall not fell trees") ". *And these were of the seventy sages...*

TJI has the following paraphrase — (bold face denotes the passages parallel to Ap 20,9):

ברם תריהון כחדא מתנביין	Both of them, however, prophesied
ואמרין הא מלכא סליק	together and said: "Lo! a king ascends
מן ארעא דמנוג בסוף	from the land of Magog at the end of
יומיא ומכנש מלכין קטרי	the days and gathers kings bedecked
תנין ואפרכין	with crowns and governors
לובשי שריונין וכל עממיא	clad in coat of mail and all peoples
ישתמעון ליה ומסדרין קרבא	will obey him. And they wage war
בארעא דישראל על בני	in the land of Israel against the sons
גלוותא ברם קירים	of the Captivity. **The Lord** (Kyrios),
אימימום להון	however, is near them (i.e. the Israelites)
בשעת ענקין (130) ומקטל	in the hour of affliction (130) and **kills**
כלהון ביקידת נשמתא	**all of them by a burning breath, by**
בשלהובית אשתא דנפקא	**a flame of fire, that goes out from**
מתחות כורסי יקרא ונפלין	**beneath the Throne of Glory.** And their

(130) With this text cp. the citation from the *Book of Eldat and Modat* in the *Pastor of Hermas*, vis. 2, 3, 4: *Ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδατ, τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ.* No other citation from this apocryphal work is known but we can judge from the context of *Hermas* that it was an apocalypse of Jewish origin; cf. OEPKE, *"kryptô"* in *TWNT* 3 (1938) 993 and E. SCHÜRER, *GJV*, III, 4th ed., p. 358 where further literature can be found. See also V. BARTLET, "The Prophecy of Eldad and Modad, and the Legend of Jannes and Jambres" in *The International Journal of Apocrypha*, N. 45, Series XII, London, April 1916, pp. 22-24.

פגריהון על טווריא	corpses fall on the mountains of the
דארעא דישראל וייתון כל חיות	land of Israel and all the wild animals
ברא וציפרי שמיא	and the birds of the heavens come
ויכלון גושמיהון	and devour their corpses. **And after**
ומבתר כדין ייחון כל	**this all the dead of Israel shall**
מיתיא דישראל ויתפנקון	**come to life and delight themselves**
מן טובא (131) דאצטנע	**from the good (131) that was set aside**
להון מן שירויא	**for them from the beginning and shall**
ויקבלו אגר עובדהון...	**receive the reward of their deeds...**

Unlike TJI, the Apocalypse (20,8) speaks of Gog and Magog. The remainder of TJI's paraphrase that speaks of the destruction of the hostile forces through fire, rather than by the Messiah, and the resurrection following on this, is what we find in the Apocalypse. It is probable that a tradition such as that which we find in TJI lies behind Ap 20,9 ff. Of course many traditions on the point were probably known to the author of the Apocalypse. In 19,17 ff. the Seer is also referring to traditions connected with Gog and Magog and there he says that these will be destroyed by the warring Messiah, just as TJII and N to Nm 11,26 do. In 20,9 ff., however, he may well be dependent on the variant form of this as we find it in TJI. The parallels here are closer than those we find in rabbinic sources and that to Ap 19,9 from TJI is generally noted by commentators in their exposition of the verse (132).

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(131) טובא (ס), "good", is the reading of the London MS of TJI published by M. GINSBURGER; a check of the MS has shown that the published text is an exact reproduction (cf. p. 135 above on this edition). The Polyglot texts, that reproduce the *editio princeps* of 1593, have מן טורא, which is most certainly an error for the reading of the London MS. מן טורא, can only be rendered in one manner, i. e., "from the mountain". TJI, however, generally writes this word as טווראּ, with a double ו. It may be this fact that has led CHEVALIER, or his corrector, to render in WALTON's Polyglot as: "(deliciis fruentur) *de tauro quod*(!) reposi*tum*(!) est illis ab initio". In rendering by a neuter *taurum* he is apparently merely reproducing the Aramaic word טַוְרָא, *"tawra"*. He scarcely takes טורא to mean a bull; which would require תּוֹרָא instead of טַוְרָא. There is then no question in TJI, Aramaic or Latin rendering, of the resurrected enjoying a bull that was hidden for them from the beginning! Yet this is precisely how E. B. ALLO (*L'Apocalypse*, 2nd. ed., p. XXXV; 3rd ed. p. XLIV) understands TJI Nm 11,16, which teaching he compares with the doctrines of Mithraism.

(132) Cf., e. g. E. B. ALLO, *o. c., ad loc.*

CHAPTER VIII

SOME MESSIANIC THEMES IN THE TARGUMS AND IN THE NEW TESTAMENT (1)

The doctrine of the Targums concerning the Messiah has already received considerable attention in past centuries. The time is now ripe for a reconsideration of the question as we are at present much better informed on the development of Messianic doctrine in Israel than students of the last century were. This has been brought about by a comparative study of Jewish literature and principally by the Qumran

(1) *Bibliography*: For post-biblical Messianic doctrine in general see: M. VERNES, *Histoire des idées messianiques depuis Alexandre jusqu'à l'empereur Hadrien*, Paris 1874; F. WEBER, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midraschim und Talmud*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 333-71; J. DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah, A Critical Study of the Messianic Idea among the Jews from the Rise of the Maccabees to the Close of the Talmud*, London 1887; E. SCHÜRER, *GJV*, II (1907) 579-651; J. KLAUSNER, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, translated from the 3rd Hebrew edition by W. S. STINESPRING, London 1956; S. MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh*, translated by G. W. ANDERSON, Oxford 1956.

For the Messianic doctrine of Qumran cf., among the many writings on the subject, J. S. CROATTO, "De Messianismo Qumranico", *VD* 35 (1957) 279-86; 344-60. J. STARCKY "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân", *RB* 70 (1963) 481-505; R. E. BROWN, S. S., "J. Starcky's Theory of Qumrân Messianic Develolopment", *CBQ* 28 (1966) 51-57; A. BARUCQ S. S. "De messianismo in 'Documento Zadoqaeo'", *VD* 16 (1936) 89-96; 123-27; 188-92; 242-45.

For other questions see L. GRY "Le Messie des Psaumes de Salomon", *Muséon* NS 7 (1906) 231-48; J. B. FREY "Le conflit entre le messianisme de Jésus et le messianisme des Juifs de son temps", *Bib* 14 (1933) 133-49; 269-93 (I "Les conceptions messianiques des Juifs au temps de J.-C.", pp. 137-49; II "Le Messianisme de Jésus", pp. 269-93); P. PRIGENT "Quelques testimonia messianiques. Leur histoire littéraire de Qoumran aux Pères de l'Église", *TZ* 15 (1959) 419-30.

For the Messianic references in the Targums see: J. BUXTORF in *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* s. v. משוח, where he collects all the targumic references to the Messiah; ed. Basle 1639, coll. 1268-1273; ed. B. FISCHER, Leipzig 1875, pp. 642-44; J. H. MICHAELIS, *De Targumim usu insigni anti-judaico in doctrina de persona Christi (speciatim de voce Memra seu Logos a chaldaeis de*

texts which show us the fluctuations this doctrine underwent within the Dead Sea sect during the period running from the mid-second century B.C. to the first half of the first Christian century.

There are good indications that a study of this aspect of the Tgs would yield positive results and show that here all the Tgs, not merely the PT, retain an old stratum of doctrine left untouched in the rabbinic recension the work has undergone. To mention but a few points: Gn 49,10 is understood Messianically in O while the surrounding context is not. A. POSNANSKI's (2) exhaustive study of the history of the exegesis of this text has made it clear that the Messianic interpretation of the verse is quite absent from the earlier writings and reappears only in the later midrashim. Going on the evidence produced by A. POSNANSKI, J. BONSIRVEN (3) writes:

> Nous avons vu que dans l'école de R. Šela on appelait le Messie Silo, suivant la prophétie; le trois targums O, TJI, TJII remplacent carrément l'obscur שילה par (מלכא) משיחא, le roi Messie; cette exégèse nettement messianique du texte ne réapparait plus que dans des commentaires récents; au contraire vers le fin du second siècle nous voyons s'ebaucher une interprétation qui prévaudra: elle identifie le sceptre et le législateur, l'un au chef de l'exil qui est en Babylonie, l'autre soit au Sanhedrin de Jérusalem, soit à ses chefs, descendents de David par Hillel. Nous ne trouvons pas qu'on ait jamais vu la un signe de l'avénement messianique; au contraire nous discernons comme la volonté

Messia usurpata), Halle 1720; I. SCHWARZ, *Jesus targumicus*, 2 parts, Torgau 1758-59; R. YOUNG, *The Christology of the Targums, or the Doctrine of the Messiah as it is unfolded in the Ancient Jewish Targums* (Hebrew, Aramaic, English), Edinburgh 1848; W. AYERST, *Tiqwat Yisrael, the Hope of Israel, or the Doctrine of the Ancient Jews concerning the Messiah as stated in the Targums*; Italian translation, Milan 1865 (the edition consulted); J. LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi. Ein Beitrag zur Offenbarungs- und Religions-Geschichte*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1866, pp. 418-29; WEBER, *o. c.*, 1880, pp. 344 ff., 365 f.; P. HUMBERT "Le Messie dans le Targum des Prophètes", *RevTheolPhil* 44 (1911) 5-46; J. J. BRIERRE-NARBONNE, *Exégèse targumique des Prophéties messianiques*, Paris 1936. K. G. BERNHARDT "Zu Eigenart und Alter der messianisch-eschatologischen Zusätze im Targum Jeruschalmi I" in *Gott und die Götter*, Festschrift E. Fascher, Berlin 1958, pp. 68-83.

(2) *Schilo, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre (I Die Auslegung von Genesis 49,10 im Altertum bis zum Ende des Mittelalters)*, Leipzig 1904.

(3) *Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ*, vol. I, Paris 1935, pp. 392 f.

> d'atténuer le Messianisme du texte. Était-ce par réaction contre l'apologetique chrétienne qui des ses premiers essais vit dans la prophétie de Jacob une designation de Jésus et la preuve que lui seul était le Messie attendu?

The portrait of the warrior Messiah depicted in the PT to Gn 49,11 f. has already been dealt with (4). This view of the Son of David is exactly in accord with what we know of the Messianic beliefs of NT times from the Gospels and JOSEPHUS. It is also the picture of the Messiah we find elsewhere in the Tgs, but is not that of rabbinic Judaism. STRACK - BILLERBECK write (5):

> In der rabbinischen Literatur sind es besonders die Targumim, die den Messias als Kriegshelden feiern. [Str.-B. refer to TJI Gn 49,11; TJII, *ibid.*; Tg Is 10,27; Tg Jer 52,13.14; 53,3.7-9; TJII Nm 11,26; TJI Nm 24,17] In der eigentlichen rabbinischen Literatur tritt das kriegerische Heldentum des Messias wenig hervor; dieses ist vielmehr zu einem hervorstechenden Zuge im Bilde des Messias b. Joseph (b. Ephraim) geworden, während der Messias b. David mehr als Friedensfürst u. Mann der Tora verherrlicht wird.

We do not here intend to go into the question of the manner in which the Messiah is presented in the Tgs in general or in the PT in particular. Instead we shall take a few aspects of the NT doctrine on the revelation of the Messiah and see how they compare with what we read in the PT and in the Tgs as a whole.

I. The Expectation of the Days of the Messiah in the New Testament (Mt 13,17; Lk 10,24; Jn 8,56) and PT Texts

Having explained to his disciples that he has spoken in parables to the crowds so that the prophecy of Is 6,9 f. be fulfilled, Christ continues (Mt 13,16 f.):

> "But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears for they hear. (17) Truly, I say to you, many prophets and righteous men *longed* (ἐπεθύμησαν) to see what you see, and did not see it, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it".

(4) Cf. above pp. 230-33.
(5) *Kommentar*... vol. IV, pp. 877 f.

Luke (10,24) gives the words of Jesus in a different context and in a somewhat different form. He places them after the return of the seventy-two disciples who rejoice that the demons are subject to them. Christ reminds them that their true cause for joy should be that their names are written in heaven. He then thanks the Father for having hidden his secrets from the wise and revealed them to babes. Turning to his disciples he then says to them privately:

> "Blessed are the eyes which see what you see! (24) For I tell you that many prophets and kings *desired* (*ἠθέλησαν*) to see what you see, and did not see it, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it".

In Jn 8,56 Our Lord gives a concrete example of one who desired to see his day and saw it. It was Abraham (6).

> "Your father Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day (*ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ*); he saw it and was glad".

In the NT period there seems to have been an intense expectation of the coming of God's redemption among the pious Jews. One such was Simeon who looked (*προσδεχόμενος*) for the redemption of Israel (Lk 2,25). Another was Joseph of Arimathea who looked (*προσδεχόμενος*) for the kingdom of God (Mk 15,43; Lk 23,51). When Christ was presented in the Temple the prophetess Anna spoke of him to all that were looking

(6) See Str.-B. I, p. 468 and II, pp. 525 f. for the Jewish traditions on the vision granted to Abraham at the Covenant "between the pieces", Gn 15,19 ff. The majority of the texts say that Abraham was then granted a vision of the world to come as well as of this world; cf. 4 Esdras 3,14; "Et dilexisti eum Abraham, et demonstrasti ei finem temporum solo secrete noctu" (Ed. BENSLY-JAMES, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. III, No 2, Cambridge 1895, p. 8). The PT to Gn 15,12 plays on the words "Terror", "Great", "Darkness" and "Fell" of the HT and takes the text to refer to the four kingdoms that would arise against Abraham's children in the course of history. The "Terror" is Babylon; the "Darkness" Media; the "Greatness" Greece; "Fell", that is Edom (= Rome; TJII has *Persia*, and attempt to evade Christian censors; the text is erased in N) which is to *fall* and never to rise again". The text probably implies a reference to Messianic times and to the victory of the Messiah over Rome.

C. F. BURNEY, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford 1922, pp. 111 f. thinks that behind *ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα* of Jn 8,56 there lies the Aramaic סוח which in Syriac means both "wished, longed" and also "exulted". See also JASTROW, *s. v.*, p. 963 citing *Keth.* 62 b. For another possible Semitic word to explain *ἠγαλλιάσατο* see Ch. C. TORREY, "The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John", *HTR* 16 (1923) 340 f.

(*προσδεχομένοις*) for the redemption of Jerusalem (Lk 2,38). We now come to consider whether the Jews of the NT period believed some of their ancients desired to see the Days of the Messiah and whether this was revealed to, or withheld from, any of them.

1. *A vision of the Messiah, withheld from all the Prophets, was granted to Balaam (PT Nm 24,3.15)*: In Nm 24,3.15, referring to Balaam the HT speaks of "the oracle of the man whose eye is opened", שתם העין. שתם העין presents some difficulty (7). שתם may be vocalized as שְׁתוּם, "transpierced", שְׁתֻם, "open", or שׁתם (= סתום), "concealed". For Judaism Balaam was an evil man, and called "Balaam the Villian", or "the Wicked Balaam". We are not then surprised to see *Sanh.* 105 a understand this text as referring to a physical deformity of the seer, taking it to mean "Balaam was one-eyed". The PT understands the difficult שתם through the meanings of both "opened" and "concealed". TJI renders:

דרזיא סתימיא מה To whom the mysteries hidden
דאתכסי מן נבייא הוה מתגלי ליה. from the prophets were revealed.

N and TJII render likewise. We give here TJII, Paris 110:

מאן דאתכסי מן כל What was hidden from all the
נביאיא איתגלי עלוי. prophets was revealed to him.

This PT paraphrase is scarcely occasioned merely by the difficult word שתם. It is much more likely that the rendering is due to the oracle that follows the phrase in v. 15, i. e. the vision that was granted to him of the Star that was to come from Jacob (Nm 24,17) in which TJI sees the Messiah and which N and TJII paraphrase as "a Redeemer" (8). This vision revealed to Balaam was, doubtless, that which according to the PT to Nm 24,3.15 was hidden from all the prophets. The text is then parallel to Mt 13,17 and Lk 10,24 which say that many prophets desired to see the day of the Messiah but did not see it.

(7) Cf. G. VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 156 f.

(8) This text of Nm 24,17 is interpreted Messianically in the Qumran writings; cf. *4 Q Florilegium* and DD 7 [19], 18 f. J. STARCKY (*a.c.*, in note 1) believes DD was composed shortly after 63 B.C. and speaks of one Messiah. R. BROWN (with others) would date it to *c.* 100 B.C. and thinks it may well speak of two Messiahs; cf. *a. c.* in note 1.

2. *The vision of the Days of the Messiah desired by Jacob (PT Gn 49,18) but withheld from him (PT Gn 49,1)*: Jacob can certainly be classed among the just of the OT. With Ps 105(104),15 and 1 Chr 16,22 we can also call him a prophet. The PT to Gn 49,18 tells us how Jacob looked forward to, and yearned for, the redemption God had promised to his people. The text of the PT to this verse is preserved in TJI, TJII, N and in two targumic *tosafoth* (9). The PT is a paraphrase on the HT which has: "I wait for your salvation, O Lord". The words are those of Jacob and follow immediately on his blessing of Dan, from which Samson ben Manoah came (Jud 13,2). TJI has the following paraphrase — (italics denote the biblical text paraphrased) (10):

> Jacob our father said when he saw Gideon bar Joash and Samson bar Manoah that were to arise as redeemers (פרוקין): "Not for the redemption of Gideon do I look (מסכי) and not for the redemption of Samson do I yearn (מודיק) as their redemption is but the redemption of an hour (i. e. short-lived), but *for your redemption do I look* (סכית) and yearn (אודיקית) *O Lord*, since your redemption is an eternal redemption".

TJII and N have practically identical texts. We render TJII here, noting where it differs from N (11) — (italics as before):

> Our father Jacob said: "Not for the redemption of Gideon bar Joash does my soul look (סכיית) which is but of an hour, nor for the redemption of Samson bar Manoah which is a transient redemption, but for the redemption (N: "for the redemption of him") which you said in your word (N omits "in your word") you would bring upon your people, the children of Israel, *to that redemption* (*N*: *"to you, to your redemption"*) *does my soul look* (סכיית)".

(9) These *tosafoth* can be found in M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, pp. 73 f.

(10) The Aramaic texts can be seen in WALTON and M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, p. 93; for a Latin version see WALTON; an English translation can be found in J. W. ETHERIDGE, *o. c.*, p. 332. M. BLACK (*An Aramaic Approach*, p. 243) prints the text of TJII Gn 49,18 as an example of the Aramaic poetry of the Jews. With the expectant words of Jacob we should compare those of the pious Simeon when his eyes had seen the promised salvation (Lk 2,29-32). The atmosphere of intense expectation for the Messiah found in Lk 2,25-38 reflects the PT Gn 49,18 and other PT passages very well. For "salvation" see below p. 246.

(11) For the Aramaic texts of TJII see WALTON and M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, p. 25; for an ET see ETHERIDGE, p. 337.

We may note the slight difference between the texts of TJI and TJII, N. In the former we read of Jacob "looking forward" (מסכי) and "yearning" (מודיק) for this redemption while the latter speak merely of the Patriarch's "looking forward" (סכיית) to this same. TJI expresses a more intense awaiting than do the other PT texts. With this variation within the PT Synoptics, we may compare the NT Synoptics. Mt 13,17 speaks of righteous men and prophets *longing* (*ἐπεθύμησαν*) to see the days of the Messiah, whereas Lk 10,24 says they *desired* (*ἐθέλησαν*) to see it. Such NT variants may be due to differences that arose within Palestinian communities in the transmission of the words of Jesus and may even have been affected by Palestinian Jewish traditions on these same doctrines ([12]).

The Messiah is not explicitly mentioned in any of the PT texts cited above. The redemption which God had promised to bring on Israel was, of course, that of which the Messiah would be the agent. All these texts, then, really refer to the days of the Messiah which the pious Jacob wished and yearned to see ([12a]).

The desire was not to be fulfilled. This we know from TJI Gn 49,1. According to the HT Jacob gathered his sons to tell them what was to befall them in the days to come (HT: באחרית הימים). TJI renders the text in the following manner — (italics denote the biblical text) ([13]):

> *And Jacob called his sons and said to them*: "Purify yourselves from uncleanness *and I will show you* the mysteries that are hidden, *the determined times* that are concealed, what the recompense of reward for the just, the retribution in store for the wicked and the joys of Eden are".
>
> The twelve tribes of Israel gathered together around the bed of gold on which he lay. And after the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord was revealed **the determined time in which King Messiah is to come** (קיצא דעתיד מלכא משיחא למיתי) **was hidden from him.**
>
> Wherefore did he say: *"Come and I will teach you what is to befall you at the end of the days"*.

([12]) See above pp. 144 f.

([12a]) In a *tosefta targumica* on Gn 49,18 (published by M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum*, pp. 73 f.) this is made explicit : "To the redemption of the Messiah, the Son of David .... does my soul look".

([13]) For the Aramaic text see WALTON and M. GINSBURGER's edition; for an English translation cf. ETHERIDGE, p. 329.

Here we see that the "determined time in which King Messiah is to come" was not revealed to Jacob. This implies that he was not granted a vision of these days, although he had desired it (14). This same view is found in TJII, although in a different paraphrase, the relevant portion of which we give here (15):

> The twelve tribes gathered together around the bed of gold on which our father Jacob lay, seeking that he teach them the determined time of blessing and consolation. After the secret was revealed to him it was hidden from him; after the door was opened to him, it was locked from him.

The meaning of this paraphrase seems to be that the door to certain secrets was opened to Jacob but the time of the coming of the Messiah was not revealed to him. Taken in this manner the paraphrase is that of TJI. The same is true of N which, apart from some glosses (16), carries the same text as TJII. The idea of all the PT paraphrases on Gn 49,1, then, seems to be that Jacob was not granted a vision of the time of the coming of the Messiah. This implies that these days, in themselves, were kept secret from him. He is one example of the many mentioned in Mt 13,17 and Lk 10,24.

Though Str.-B. (17) refer to TJI Nm 24,3, the texts the *Kommentar* cites to illustrate Mt 13,17 refer to a Jewish tradition we have already mentioned (18) according to which the generation of the Exodus saw more of the Shekinah than any of the prophets was ever permitted to behold. The PT texts we have just now considered appear to be far better parallels than those adduced by the *Kommentar*. The tradition we find in the texts adduced by Str.-B. does not really refer to Messianic times.

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(14) According to 1 Pt 1,10-12 the prophets inquired about the NT dispensation but it was revealed to them that the doctrine was for the future, not for themselves; cf. also Heb 11,13 and Dn 12,8. In 4QpHab 7,2 the "consummation of the end" (נמר הקץ) was not revealed to Habacuc; נמר הקץ here probably refers to the end of time, as G. VERMES (*The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Penguin Books, p. 236) renders it. For a discussion of the term cf. R. LE DÉAUT, *La nuit pascale*, pp. 274 f. (with latest literature).

(15) For an Eng. trans. see ETHERIDGE, p. 334.

(16) It appears that N f. 103 b from מן ד' of line 5 to מינה of line 8 beg. is a gloss or a series of glosses; this collection of glosses may have been occasioned by the biblical text of Gn 49,1 f. where we read twice of Jacob telling his sons to gather about him to listen to his words.

(17) I, p. 468; II, pp. 525 f.

(18) Above p. 203.

II. The Revelation of the Messiah in the Targums and the Epiphaneia of Christ in St Paul: 2 Thes 2,8; Tit 2,13; 1 Tm 6,14 etc. (19)

St. Paul speaks a number of times of the *ἐπιφάνεια* of God (Tit 2,11: *Ἐπεφάνη ... ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ... ἡ σωτήριος*; Tit 3,4: *ἡ χρηστότης ... ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ*) and of Christ (2 Thes 2,8; Tit 2,13; 1 Tm 6,14; 2 Tm 1,10; 4,1). *Ἐπιφάνεια* is a well-known term in Greek religion (20). The pagan gods had their *ἐπιφάνειαι*, *θεοὶ ἐπιφανεῖς* being of frequent use for them after such presumed apparitions. The emperors, too, had their *ἐπιφάνειαι*, the term being applied to their birth, their assumption of power, their enthronement, their visits, their victories or manifestations of power, their return from foreign parts.

Other typically Hellenistic terms used by the Pastorals are *σωτηρία* and *σωτήρ*. God the Father is *σωτήρ* (1 Tm 1,1; 2,3; 4,10; Tit 1,3; 3,4; cf. Jude 25). In the Greek world the saviour gods were an integral part of religion. Dead heroes were at times venerated as saviour gods; so, too, at a later period, were emperors, even during their lifetime (21). There is no need to have recourse to Greek religion to explain Paul's use of *σωτήρ* or *σωτηρία* (22). Both the concept and terms are well attested in the LXX for God's relation with his people in saving them from Egypt (cf. Dt 32,15; Is 12,12; 45,17 etc., etc.). The PT also is replete with the term. Where the HT speaks of God leading Israel out of Egypt the PT generally paraphrases as "he (etc.) led you forth redeemed (פריקין)..." In the same paraphrase God is called more than once a "saviour god", אלהא פרוק, e. g. Lv 14,15; N to Lv 25,38 etc. PT Gn 49,18 speaks of God's future "redemption" (פורקנא), i. e. that of Messianic times.

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(19) Cf. O. CASEL, "Die Epiphanie im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte" *Benedikt. Monatschrift* 4 (1922) 13-20. PHISTER, "Epiphanie" in Pauly-W. Supplem. IV, 1924, pp. 277-323; L. CERFAUX, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul*, Paris 1951, pp. 29-32; A. J. VERMEULEN, "Le développement sémantique d'*ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ*, et la fête de l'Epiphanie", in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*, Supplementa, fasc. 1, Nijmegen 1964, pp. 7-44.

(20) See the commentaries and the literature cited in preceding note for references to the Greek inscriptions etc.

(21) For this see D. WENDLAND, "*Sôtêr*. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung", *ZNW* 5 (1904) 335-53; W. STAERK, *Sôtêr*, Gütersloh 1933; M. DIBELIUS, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (*HNT*), 2nd ed., Tübingen 1931; pp. 60 ff.; 91 ff.; E. B. ALLO, "Les dieux sauveurs du paganisme gréco-romain", *RSPT* 19 (1926) 5-34, summary on p. 34.

(22) Cf. e. g. S. LYONNET, *De peccato et redemptione*, II, Rome 1960, pp. 7-17; bibliography on pp. 7 f.

Despite the widespread use of *ἐπιφάνεια* in the Hellenistic world it is quite possible that in his use of it Paul is thinking against a Jewish rather than a Greek background. There are reasons to think that such is the case, as an examination of some texts will show. In Tit 2,11-14 Paul writes:

> For the grace of God has appeared (*ἐπεφάνη*) for the salvation (*σωτήριος*) of all men, training us to renounce irreligion and worldly passions, and to live sober, upright and godly lives in this world, awaiting our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ (*ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος . . .*), who gave himself to redeem us (*ἵνα λυτρώσηται*) from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good works.

The latter portion of the citation clearly refers to the Exodus from Egypt: *λυτροῦσθαι* being employed in the LXX to express this redemption. Commenting on this fact and the Hellenistic language of the earlier part of the text, P. C. SPICQ writes ([23]) on *ἵνα λυτρώσηται* of Tit 2,14: "Réminiscence de l'A.T.... remarquable après la terminologie religieuse de l'hellénisme qui vient d'être employée". The same writer is not happy about the conjunction of *ἐπεφάνη* and *χρηστότης* in Tit 3,4 either. He writes ([24]):

> La naissance de l'enfant Jésus est une *épiphanie* de la *bénignité* du Père. L'association de ces deux termes est tout à fait insolite pour des oreilles grecques. Toute épiphanie divine, en effet, suscite un frisson de terreur, un effroi sacré, *θάμβος*.

J. DUPONT has approached the use of *ἐπιφάνεια* by Paul from another angle ([25]). 2 Thes 2,8 says that Christ will kill the lawless one *τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ*. This is not according to the Hellenistic use of *ἐπιφάνεια*, he remarks. The gods, e. g. Aesculapius, at their epiphanies bestowed gifts on man; they did not destroy him. The passage is, then, to be explained through the Jewish, rather than through the Hellenistic, meaning of *ἐπιφάνεια*.

([23]) *Les épîtres pastorales* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1947, p. 266.

([24]) *Ibid.*, p. 276.

([25]) *Σὺν Χριστῷ. L'union avec le Christ suivant S. Paul*, I, Bruges-Paris 1952, pp. 73-79.

We find a different colouring attached to the word *ἐπιφάνεια* in the LXX. 2 Maccabees (2,21; 3,24; 5,4; 12,12; 14,15 cf. 3,20) calls the divine manifestations in favour of Israel *ἐπιφάνειαι*. J. DUPONT writes [26] on this usage of the second book of Maccabees: "L'*ἐπιφάνεια* est une manifestation de puissance par laquelle Dieu montre sa bienveillance à son peuple. L'emprunt à la langue hellénistique est indubitable".

We also find that *ἐπιφάνεια* and the corresponding verb are used in certain passages of the LXX to render the Heb. נראות and other words from the root ירא. This root ירא means "to fear" in qal; in the Niphal, "to be fearful". In rendering by *ἐπιφάνεια* etc. the LXX translators must have understood the words as coming from אור, "to shine, make to shine, appears", etc. or from ראה, "to see" etc. 2 Sam 7,23 says, according to the HT: "God went to redeem his people... doing for them great and terrible things, גדולות ונראות. The LXX renders: *ποιῆσαι μεγαλωσύνην καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν*. Zeph 2,11 says that Yahweh will be terrible (נורא) against Moab, Ammon and the enemies of Israel. The LXX renders: *ἐπιφανήσεται κύριος ἐπ' αὐτούς*. In Joel 3,4 we read that the sun will be turned to darkness etc. before the great and terrible (הנורא) day of the Lord. The LXX renders the final part as *ἡμέραν κυρίου τῆς ... ἐπιφανῆ*. *Ἐπιφάνεια* and the corresponding verb are, then, used in the LXX of God's visit to his people at the Exodus, against his enemies during the history of Israel and of his final visit.

J. DUPONT concludes on Paul's use of *ἐπιφάνεια* [27]:

> L'examen attentif des vocables les plus typiquement "hellénistiques" dans les descriptions eschatologiques de saint Paul nous a montré qu'en les employant, l'Apôtre est tributaire, non pas directement de l'hellénisme, mais d'un vocabulaire dejà fixé, soit dans la chrétienté primitive, soit dans le judaïsme et la Bible grecque.

In this case, Paul's use of such a typically Hellenistic word as *ἐπιφάνεια* is the same as what W. C. VAN UNNIK has said of the equally Hellenistic *παρρησία* [28] — the term is Greek but the concept behind it is Jewish.

It is quite possible that, in speaking of the "epiphany" of God and of Christ, Paul is dependent on the language which the Judaism of his day, Semitic as much as Hellenistic (used of the coming of the kingdom of

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(26) *Ibid.*, p. 76.
(27) *Ibid.*, p. 78.
(28) See above pp. 275-77.

God and of Christ). In rabbinic writings we read mostly, though not solely, of "the coming" (בוא, אתא) of the Messiah (29). The Tgs, both the PT and the others, when referring to the Advent of the Messiah speaks of him as "being revealed" (אתגלי). TJI Gn 35,21 says that from Migdal Eder "is King Messiah *to be revealed* (עתיד דאתגלי) at the end of the days". In the Fourth Night of Passover the Messiah is *to be revealed* to redeem the people of the house of Israel, יתגלי למפרוק עמא בית ישראל (PT Ex 12,42; Paris 110, Ex 15,18). "Lo! I will bring my servant the Messiah and he will be *revealed*", ויתגלי, (Tg Zech 3,8; HT "Behold! I will bring my servant the Branch"). "Lo! a man, whose name is the Messiah, *who is to be revealed*", עתיד דיתגלי, (Tg Zech 6,12; HT "Behold the man whose name is the branch"). "And their, king shall be anointed from their midst, and their *Messiah* from their midst *shall be revealed*", יתגלי, (Tg Jer 30,21; HT "their ruler shall come forth from themselves").

This manner of referring to the coming of the Messiah may be taken as representative of first century (A. D.) Palestinian Judaism. The Syriac version of 4 Esdras 7,28 says: "My son *the Messiah shall be revealed*". The Latin version of this work is here slightly affected by Christian influence, writing: "*Reuelabitur*... filius meus Jesus". The same terminology is found in 2 Baruch; e. g. 29,3: "The *Messiah* shall (then) begin to be *revealed*" (נשרא דנתגלא משיחא); 39,7: "The principate of my *Messiah* shall *be revealed*" (תתגלא רשיתא דמשיחי) (30). This same language seems to lie behind Jn 1,31, (cf. Jn 7,4), in which the Baptist says that he himself did not know Jesus but came baptizing in water that Christ might be *made manifest* (ἵνα φανερωθῇ; RSV "that he might be revealed") to Israel.

Words being no more than conventional signs, the meaning to be given to this revelation of the Messiah will depend on the beliefs which the writer or speaker held on the manner of the Messiah's coming. For those believing in the heavenly pre-existence of the Messiah the expression will have special significance (31). It appears, on the other hand, that in

(29) On the use of these terms see E. SJÖBERG, *Der Verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien*, Lund 1955, pp. 55 f.

(30) Cf. R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Syriac*, London 1896, p. 52 for 29,3 with the Syriac texts of both 29,3 and 39,7. He thinks that the Syriac text of 29,3 is corrupt and should read as 39,7. CHARLES' emendation is rejected by C. C. TORREY in *JBL* 61 (1942) 73.

(31) For the figure of the pre-existent Messiah see E. SJÖBERG, *o. c.*, pp. 44-98 and G. F. MOORE, *Judaism II*, 343 f. This latter author doubts that 4 Esdras and 2 Baruch really believe in a pre-mundane Messiah seeing that they were contemporaries of the Tannaim and were men "of some respectable learning", which at the time meant a connection with the schools.

rabbinic writings "the revelation" of the Messiah means no more than his coming ([32]). Judaism also knew of a tradition on the Messiah being hidden on earth before his revelation to Israel (cf. Jn 7,27). That this belief is an old one we know from JUSTIN (*Dialogue*, ch. 8). The revelation of the Messiah to Israel would naturally be conceived of as something solemn ([33]). "When King Messiah reveals himself (or "is revealed", אתגלי) he will come and stand on the roof of the Temple" (*Pesiqta rabbati*, 36, 162a; cf. Mt 4,5f.; Lk 4,8-11).

The Tgs also speak of the Kingdom of God being revealed, in places where the HT speaks of God reigning (מלך יהוה) ([34]). "The kingdom of the Lord of Hosts shall be revealed (תתגלי מלכותא דיהוה צבאות) on the mountain of Sion" (Tg Is 24,23 ([35]); HT: "the Lord of Hosts will reign [מלך יהוה] on Mount Sion"; same expression in HT and Tg Mi 4,7). "For thus said the Lord to me: 'As the lion... roars over its prey when a company of shepherds is assembled against him, and is not dismayed at their voices... *so shall the kingdom of the Lord of Hosts be revealed* (תתגלי) *to dwell on Mount Sion*... As a bird that flies swiftly so shall *the might* of the Lord of Hosts *be revealed over Jerusalem*; he will protect and deliver, he will rescue and set free'" (Tg Is 31,4 f.; for the italicized parts the HT has: "so shall the Lord of Hosts come down to fight upon Mount Sion... so the Lord of Hosts will protect Jerusalem").

([32]) See E. SJÖBERG, *o. c.*, p. 56.

([33]) S. MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh*, Oxford 1954, believes that 'the Day of the Messiah' bore special significance for Jewish writers. He writes (*ibid.* pp. 302 f.): "The expression is formed by analogy with the earlier 'day of Yahweh' ... It means the day when Yahweh, or the Messiah, will appear as king, assume the royal title, and be acclaimed as king ... ' The day of the Messiah' ... means the day on which he has accomplished his Messianic work, crushed the enemy, saved his people, 'restored the kingdom to Israel' (... Acts i, 6), and thus shown himself to be the Messiah...".

([34]) Cf. KUHN, "*basileus*", *TWNT* I (1933) 572. יהוה מלך is, however, also rendered literally in the Tgs, e. g. in Ezek 20,33; Ps 47,9; 93,1; 96,10; 97,1; 99,1; 146,10. In Tg Is 31,4 f. cited in the text the revelation of the Kingdom of God is not a rendering of "God shall reign"; it is a free paraphrase. The expression, then, represents current ideas of God's kingdom and is not a mere set exegetical paraphrase of the Hebrew words יהוה מלך.

([35]) The Aramaic texts and English translations of the passages of the Tg to Isaiah can be seen in J. F. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah*, Oxford 1949. The Aramaic texts can also be found in WALTON accompanied by a Latin rendering. A. SPERBER's *The Bible in Aramaic* III, Leiden, 1962, gives the Aramaic texts with critical apparatus.

In this text of Tg Is 31,4 f. we see that the kingdom of God and the might of God are revealed to defend his people and destroy its enemies, just as in 2 Mac and 2 Thes 2,8.

Tg Is 40,9 and 52,7 speak of the joy and the rejoicing that accompany the revelation of the kingdom of God. The first text runs:

> "Get up on a high mountain, you prophets that bring good tidings to Sion; lift up your voice with strength, you that bear good tidings to Jerusalem; lift it up, be not afraid; say to the cities of the house of Judah: *'The kingdom of your God is revealed'* ... (For the italicized part the HT has: "Behold your God!").

In Tg 52,7 we find:

> How beautiful on the mountains of the land of Israel are the feet of him that brings good tidings, that announces peace, that brings tidings of good, that announces salvation, that says to the congregation of Sion: *"The Kingdom of your God has been revealed"*. (For the italicized words the HT has "Your God reigns, מלך אלהיך").

With these texts we may compare Tg Zeph 3,14 f.:

> "Be glad and rejoice, congregation of Sion, ... *for behold I will reveal* (אתגלי) *and set my Majesty in your midst*", says the Lord. (HT: "The King of Israel, the Lord, is in your midst").

Like the terms referring to the revelation of the Messiah, those that speak of the revelation of the Kingdom of God were very probably in current use in the NT period. It is such we find in Sib Or 3,47: "Then shall the *kingdom* of the immortal king be *manifested* (*φανεῖται*) to men". The same mode of expression is found in the NT. Lk 19,11 says that Jesus spoke a parable because he was near to *Jerusalem* and because the Jews supposed that the *kingdom of God* was *to appear* immediately: *μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφαίνεσθαι*. The phrase is practically that of Tg Is 24,23: "*The kingdom of the Lord* of Hosts *shall be revealed* on the mountain of *Sion*"; cp. Tg Is 31,4. etc.

We can rest assured, then, that behind *φανεῖται* of Sib Or 3,47 and Lk 19,11 there lies the Aramaic or Hebrew תתגלי . גלי of Dn 2,19 is rendered in the LXX by *ἐξεφάνης* and גלה of 2,47 by *ἐκφαίνων*, while נגלה of Gn 35,7 is translated *ἐπεφάνη* in the LXX. The Tgs have, naturally, אתגלי.

This makes it quite probable that behind *ἐπιφάνεια* and *ἐπιφαίνειν* of 2 Thes 2,8; 1 Tm 6,14; 2 Tm 1,10; 4,1.8 and Tit 2,13 there lies the Jewish concept and term of the revelation of the Messiah and of the kingdom of God. Neither in 2 Thes nor in the other passages is the concept of *ἐπιφάνεια* quite that of Hellenism, as P. C. SPICQ and J. DUPONT have noted. We find parallels to *ἐπιφάνεια* of 2 Thes in Tg Is 31,4 f., while the joy accompanying the *ἐπιφάνεια* in Tit 3,4 has a parallel in Tg Is 40,9 and 52,7. It is the joy that accompanies the coming of God's kingdom on earth. As we know that this terminology was used in NT Judaism (cf. Lk 19,11; Sib Or 3,46-50) it is natural to suppose that here Paul is dependent on these terms and doctrine in speaking of the *ἐπιφάνεια* of God and of Christ. The terms he used happen to be typical of the Hellenistic world to which he addressed his message; his doctrine and expression is dependent on the religion of his fathers rather than on any adaptation to his audiences.

Chapter IX

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this dissertation we have cited P. Kahle's words on the utility of the PT texts for the study of NT exegesis. They bear repetition [1]:

> We can learn many more details from them than from the material collected by Billerbeck or Bonsirven. Their voluminous works only serve to indicate what the conditions were at the time of the reorganization of Judaism after the destruction of the Temple; they show us how the rabbis rebuilt Judaism for the future.
>
> In the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch we have in the main material coming down from pre-Christian times which must be studied by everyone who wishes to understand the state of Judaism at the time of the birth of Christianity. And we possess this material in a language of which we can say that it was similar to that spoken by the earliest Christians. It is material, the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated.

For a proper study of the bearing of the PT on NT exegesis we have considered it necessary to treat both of the PT in itself, its origin, its nature and the history of its transmission. We have then considered some points in which there appears to be an undeniable relation between the PT and the NT and have considered a number of other points of contact between the two bodies of writings as well. This approach to the relation of the PT and the NT has been undertaken on set purpose as we wished to determine what conclusions would follow from a consideration of the two from the aspects of language, expressions and doctrine, as well as from the manner in which certain persons and events of sacred history are viewed

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[1] *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1959, p. 208; see pp. 34 f. above.

in both. We now come to cast a glance back on what we have found and see what bearing the evidence has on the possible utility of the Targums, and of the PT in particular, for the solution of NT problems and for the early dating of the bulk of the material of the PT.

1. *Paul and the PT*: The texts which we have examined from the Pauline Corpus, i. e. Rm 10,6-8 (2) and 2 Cor 3,17 - 4,5 (3), present a very strong argument that PT Dt 30,12-14 and TJI Ex 33,11 ff., Nm 7,89 was known to him in the paraphrase that still lies before us in our extant texts and that these same texts determined his manner of paraphrasing Dt 30,12-14 and his sequence of thought and expression in his midrash on the veil of Moses. The pupil that sat at the feet of Gameliel (Act 22,3) to hear him expound the fine points of halakah must have regularly listened to the Liturgical paraphrase of the Law as it was expounded by the Meturgeman in the synagogues. The ascent of Moses to the throne of God on Sinai to fetch the Law to his people and the glory with which his face shone as he gave the Torah to Israel, as well as the converse of the Lawgiver with the Spirit in the Tent of Meeting, would have impressed themselves deeply in the young pupil's mind, a pupil extremely zealous for the traditions of his fathers (cf. Gal 1,14). On the road to Damascus he who said "let light shine out of darkness" (2 Cor 4,6) revealed the Risen Saviour to the erstwhile rabbinic student and showed him the true role of Moses in God's economy of salvation. When the Apostle of the Gentiles came up against a situation where he had to make clear to others what the Lord had clarified for himself on the true position of Moses, the liturgical paraphrase of the relevant passages of the Pentateuch came to his mind and determined and coloured the manner in which he interpreted for them the OT texts in question (4). The liturgical paraphrase of the PT, or of the portions bearing on Moses and his mission, at any rate, may never have been too far below the surface, seeing that it appears again in Rm 10,6-8.

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(2) Pp. 70-78.

(3) Pp. 168-188, esp. 173-188.

(4) On this question B. GERHARDSSON, *Memory and Manuscript*, p. 285, writes: "The way in which Paul conceives of this alteration of the Holy Scriptures is perhaps most clearly seen in 2 Cor 3,1 - 4,6 where we find a Christological midrash on Ex 34. Paul naturally enough does not limit himself to the bare text of Scripture (*miqra*) in its Hebrew or Greek form; he is also familiar with the targumic and midrashic material which was connected, in the mind of a torah scholar, with this text".

A study of the Apostle's thought against the background of Judaism tends to show that his thought is Jewish, even on occasions where his words would indicate he is immersed in Hellenism. It is the conclusion that appears to follow from a study of *παρρησία* (5) and *ἐπιφάνεια* (6) in the light of Hellenism and Judaism.

2. *The PT and the Apocalypse*: The NT book which shows the greatest number of contacts with the PT is the Apocalypse, if we take the texts examined in the course of this dissertation as any indication. We have not set out to devote more study to the bearing of the PT on this NT book. We first of all collected probable parallels and on examining them later found that a large number of them were from the last book of the NT Canon. The parallels between these two writings appear to be particularly close. Is seems, for instance, that in Ap 20,14 (7), where the author is thinking and writing with Is 65,15 ff. in mind, John has passed from the biblical text to the manner in which this was considered in the Targum, and that the fact that "the second death" is found in Tg Is 65,15 occasioned its use in Ap 20,14. When John (Ap 1,4.8; 11,17; 16,5) calls God "Who is who was (and who is to Come)" (8) he would naturally think of the divine Name Yahweh revealed to Moses in Ex 3,14. It seems that in this title, too, the Seer of Patmos has passed from the biblical text and reproduced the manner in which this name was paraphrased in TJI Ex 3,14 and TJI Dt 32,39. The doctrinal and lexical parallels in this case are so close that one is led to believe the author of the Apocalypse had such a paraphrase in mind.

The use of the symbolism attached to the seven-branched lampstand and its lamps in TJI Ex 39,37 and 40,4 by Ap 1,12.16.21 (9), makes one surmise that such symbolism was already present in the Judaism of John's day and that the paraphrase of TJI has left its influence in the NT work. The Exodus theme runs right through the Apocalypse, and the examination of some Apocalypse texts in the light of the manner in which certain events of the Exodus are viewed in the PT (10) points to the conclusion that the NT writer has drawn on this paraphrase when setting forth the

(5) Pp. 175-77.
(6) Pp. 246-52.
(7) Pp. 123 f.
(8) Pp. 98-117.
(9) Pp. 192-99.
(10) Pp. 192-226.

New and final Exodus of salvation. It is also probable that the PT paraphrase has influenced such Apocalypse themes as the royal and priestly dignity of Christians (11), the figure of the warring Christ (Ap 19,11 ff.)(12) and the destruction of the forces of Gog and Magog (Ap 20,9) (13).

All this goes to show that, when thinking of the Exodus and the events connected with it, John does so in the manner in which these same were viewed in the sacred liturgy of God's people. Nothing could be more natural. The author of the Apocalypse was clearly a Jew, and one with a liturgical turn of mind. We can presume he was of the same bent before he embraced the religion of Christ. His receptive mind would then have been particularly retentive of the liturgical paraphrase he had heard spoken in the synagogues, a paraphrase that brought out the significance of these saving events and made them living realities for later ages. When John himself came to narrate the significance of the New Redemption what more natural than that he should betray his earlier education?

3. *The Gospels and the PT*: Our consideration of the bearing of the Targums on the Gospels has been very summary. The texts studied show, however, that the PT (14), and even O (15), can be profitably used in a study of the Scripture citations and the language of the Gospels. An indication has been given of the possible source of one of the combined OT texts of Matthew (5,21) (16). The language of Lk 11,27 and Mt 7,2 (and par.) (17) is particularly close to PT Gn 49,25 and PT Gn 38,26 respectively. The language of the PT is not without significance in a study of the Fourth Gospel (18).

4. *The NT and the early dating of the PT as a whole*: In the second chapter of this work we have made an attempt to trace the history of the PT from earliest times down to the sixteenth century. The study has of necessity been brief but has shown that citations from one or other, or from all, of our present PT texts can be found in various ages. We have also considered a text in which R. Johanan (c. 250 A.D.) (19) censured a

(11) Pp. 227-30.
(12) Pp. 230-33.
(13) Pp. 233-37.
(14) Pp. 126-49.
(15) Pp. 131; and n. 14 to the same chapter.
(16) Pp. 126-31.
(17) Pp. 131-33; 138-42.
(18) Pp. 145-49.
(19) Pp. 53 f.

targumic rendering of Gn 29,17 still found in TJII and Ngl. The rendering was given before R. Joḥanan by his Amora, the task of such an amora being to repeat traditional lore, not to give new exegesis. This indicates that the PT was probably in existence as a unit and transmitted by those whose task it was to hand on such material. It is in itself, of course, intrinsically probable that the PT was transmitted *as a block* and not improvised by individual Meturgemanin. The essential unity of the various PT texts indicate the same. This is in itself an argument in favour of the essential early date of the PT, apart from individual texts that may have been altered to bring flagrant violations of halakah in line with rabbinic views ([20]).

Turning now to the bearing of the NT on the dating of the PT we may say, from what we have considered, that the NT in general seems to favour an early date of the PT *as a whole*. The relation of the two sets of writings has been approached from various angles, from close textual relations ([21]), from the point of view of the portraits of certain persons in the PT and NT ([22]), from the manner in which certain themes such as the Exodus are considered in both ([23]), etc. The parallels we have studied favour an early dating of the PT tradition as a whole. This by no means says that there are not later sections in the PT. To affirm that there are not would go beyond the evidence of the NT texts examined, and very probably against the evidence of the PT texts themselves. We have seen ([24]) how the paraphrase of Lv 22,28 found in TJI is very probably omitted from other PT texts as a result of the censure directed against it by R. Jose ben Bun. It is also probable that certain texts of N have been altered to bring the rendering in line with official halakah ([25]). The influence of later Jewish exegesis on other individual PT texts is a matter that must be studied for each individual case. This does not invalidate the argument for an early dating of the bulk of the PT, however, particularly in cases of midrash that do not run counter to halakah. Due to the liturgical nature of the PT, and to the conservative character of liturgical texts, the probabilities lie in favour of an early date for these sections of the PT, which form the bulk of the work. The points of contact between the PT and the NT seem to indicate that the greater part, if not all, of

([20]) Pp. 62 f.; 138; cf. 64 f.
([21]) Pp. 76 f. ; 126-131; 131-33; 133-38; 138-42.
([22]) Pp. 70-96; 155-188.
([23]) Pp. 97-112; 199-217.
([24]) Pp. 133-138.
([25]) Pp. 62 f.

the PT paraphrase was already in existence in NT times and has been transmitted to us, essentially, as it then was.

5. *The NT and Onkelos*: We now come to consider the bearing of the texts we have considered on the individual Targums. The traditional view of O is that it was composed in Palestine and fundamentally represents Palestinian exegesis but has been transmitted in Babylon, and has been redacted there, to bring it in line with the halakah as codified in Babylonian Judaism [26]. We have considered two texts of O (Gn 9,6 and Ex 21,24 and par.) [27] which favour the view that O is fundamentally Palestinian. The texts are only two, of course, but deserve attention in view of the later theory that wishes to make O an entirely Babylonian product.

6. *The Targum to the Prophets and other books*: The Tg of Jonathan to the Prophets is also considered to be fundamentally a Palestinian work, despite the fact that, like O, it now stands in Babylonian Aramaic and has been redacted in the eastern Academies [28]. The theme of "the second death" [29] may indicate that in places it represents the Palestinian paraphrase of NT times. The Tgs to Psalms, Lamentations and Canticles are all considered as recent compositions. Due to the conservative nature of the liturgical tradition on which they are based these may retain old paraphrases and midrashim not attested in other Jewish writings [30], a point noted by those who have studied the question.

7. *TJI and the NT*: One curious fact that has emerged in the course of this study is that TJI shows close contact with the NT in passages where its paraphrase is not attested in other PT texts. Only TJI of PT texts shows the paraphrase that parallels Mt 5,21 [31]. The relation of TJI to the Apocalypse is particularly close. This is clear from the form of the divine Name in Ex 3,14 and Dt 32,39 [32]. In TJI alone do we find the paraphrase of Ex 39,37 and 40,4 on the seven-branched lampstand and its lamps [33]. The paraphrase of TJI to Nm 11,26 which has been

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(26) Cf. p. 60.
(27) Pp. 130 f. and n. 14 to p. 131.
(28) Cf. BACHER, *JE* 12 (1907) 61 and general works on the Tgs.
(29) Pp. 117-24.
(30) Cf. above 78-81; 160-63; 211-14.
(31) Pp. 130 f.
(32) Pp. 109-112.
(33) Pp. 196-199.

adduced as a parallel to Ap 20,9 ([34]) is not attested in TJII or N. Even Paul shows a relation to texts found only in TJI. Tm 3,8 on Jannes and Jambres ([35]) is one instance. Another is the midrash on the veil of Moses (2 Cor 3,17 - 4,4) ([36]).

It is possible, of course, that all these texts of TJI are interpolations into the text of the PT from early sources. Seeing that the probabilities are against this, and that the NT shows a relation with the PT (which indicates that the paraphrase was known to the NT writers), it is more natural to take these passages of TJI, not found in other PT texts but parallel to the NT, as genuine parts of the liturgical paraphrase of NT times ([37]). The absence of some texts of TJI from other representatives of the PT can be explained. Lv 22,28, for instance, was probably omitted from TJII, N and PTG, MS F, because it ran counter to a halakah ([38]). Other renderings of TJI, not attested in any other PT text, can be explained by the assumption that TJI represents a special PT tradition ([39]).

This is quite in accord with what we know from a study of TJI in relation to Jewish writings in general. As A. MARMORSTEIN has pointed out ([40]), it has an early form of halakah that is similar to that of PHILO. It also may preserve renderings that presuppose a pre-Massoretic HT. Part of this rendering (TJI Dt 33,12) ([41]) is dated by some scholars to the second century B.C. Even within Judaism it had a special history of transmission. This is probably the reason why it preserves a number of anti-halakic passages.

8. *Where the chief value of the PT for NT exegesis seems to lie*: It is scarcely necessary to say that not everything in the Gospels, much less in the NT, can be explained by the Targums. The NT has a core of teaching that requires no other explanation than the new revelation brought by Christ and interpreted by the primitive Church. Some of this teach-

([34]) Pp. 233-37.

([35]) Pp. 82-96.

([36]) Pp. 177-88.

([37]) M. WILCOX, *The Semitisms of Acts*, Oxford 1965, p. 27, notes that peculiarities in Acts 7,3b.10b are paralleled only in TJI. For the relation of TJI with other texts from Acts see the index of the same work *s. v.* "Targum". P. GRELOT, *RB* 71 (1964) 266 f. goes too far when he states that the antiquity of TJI is suspect in passages not paralleled in other PT texts; "partout ailleurs *il faut en faire la preuve* dans chaque cas particulier" (266).

([38]) Pp. 137 f.

([39]) P. 61 f.

([40]) *ZAW* NF 8 (1931) 234 f.; 241 f.

([41]) See pp. 114-17 above.

ing may have been prepared to a certain extent in Jewish thought while other elements weres so patently novel that they astonished even Christ's own followers.

The doctrine that is not specifically new in the teaching of Christ and of the early Church may very well represent Jewish ideas of the NT period. We cannot expect to find all these ideas paralleled in the PT as we now have it. To begin with, our present targumic texts can scarcely be taken to represent fully the liturgical paraphrases current in first century Palestine. And even if they did, we can by no means assume that the biblical paraphrase of the NT period represented all the theological currents of the time. The Christian message was addressed to many classes of society and must surely refer to, and employ, traditions not found in the Targums. It would then be a serious mistake to attempt to explain all NT texts through the Targums.

We may then ask what specific contribution has the PT to make towards NT studies. Will its contribution be greater than that of rabbinic sources, or of the Apocalyptic and Qumran writings? In difficult NT texts why should one turn to the PT rather than to these other writings? The specific contribution of the PT appears to be that it gives us that form of Jewish thought with which most Jews of the NT period would have been familiar. The rabbinic writings, doubtless, contain a good amount of pre-Christian tradition, much of which may have been the common heritage of NT Judaism. Still, the fact remains that the rabbinic texts, as we have them, come from the period after the destruction of the Temple and were connected with the schools rather than with the public synagogue service. They likewise represent the rabbinic or Pharisee tradition and cannot be taken as giving a true picture of the religion of the NT period. Both the Apocalyptic and Qumran writings, on the other hand, come from authors living on the margin of ordinary Jewish life. These writings do not then necessarily represent the ideas of the ordinary Jew of the time of Christ.

With the PT matters are entirely different. These texts, even as we now have them, may be taken to represent substantially the liturgical paraphrase of the NT period. This rendering was at the very centre of NT Judaism. It was the manner in which the OT message was mediated to the mass of the Jewish people. They heard it every sabbath and it would have become part and parcel of their mental frame. The liturgical paraphrase may also have been the medium through which certain apocalyptic ideas became known to Jewish audiences. There is also the probability that many of the astrological and astronomical speculations cur-

rent in East during the NT period had already influenced the Jewish liturgy. We have seen that a cosmic significance is attached to some of the objects of the Tabernacle in TJI, which is here probably representative of the Jewish liturgy of the time of Christ. There are probably more cases of such symbolism.

It is natural, then, that students of the NT should turn to the liturgical rendering which is the PT when they seek to determine the meaning of, or seek a parallel to, some difficult NT passage. It may yet prove that the PT, particularly TJI, is of no small importance for the interpretation of the Apocalypse, that book of seven seals.

9. *Work yet to be done*: Despite the attention that has been given to the PT and its bearing on the NT in recent years, no small amount yet remains to be done both as regards the PT itself and its relation to the NT. It seems that more attention must be paid to the history of transmission of the PT. It may be possible to collect more PT citations in early rabbinic writings. Then the origin and transmission ot TJI still remains a mystery ([42]). Is it possible to show any relation of this Tg to rabbinic writings before it makes its appearance in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries? It will be necessary to find early parallels for the PT midrash so as to determine the early date of the individual passages. Monographs on individual aspects of targumic doctrine, such as the Messiah, the figures of Gog and Magog and other biblical persons and such like remain to be written. Only after this work has been done can a definitive answer be given on the date of individual passages of the PT.

Then, there is a vast field for students interested in the relation of the PT to the NT. How does the general teaching of the PT on such points as Messianic beliefs, the Memra, the Holy Spirit, retribution, and a host of such questions, compare with the teaching of the NT? In this field it will first be necessary to establish a parallel between the PT and NT; then seek whether the PT doctrine is peculiar to the Targum or also found in rabbinic writings. It will be necessary to see whether the PT passage has affected the context where the NT text occurs, and whether the doctrine of the Tg is paralleled in other early Jewish tradition. Many parallels have already been established but some of them await more detailed study. Much work awaits to be done in the field, a field rich in possibilities — one whose importance can scarcely be exaggerated.

([42]) As do also the origin of TJII and of the numerous glosses to N.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE SECOND PRINTING

It is now ten years since the first edition of this work was printed. The opening chapter was devoted to a survey of targumic studies and, in the closing paragraphs of the book, I indicated work as yet to be done. I did not then anticipate that the interest in this field of research would be as great as, in fact, it has been over the past decade. The literary output has proven to be phenomenal: in the new edition of texts and the reprinting of older editions, in the relating of Targums to Jewish Midrash, in the investigation of the language of the Targums, in the bringing of targumic evidence to bear on the interpretation of the New Testament, and in numerous other ways besides. In the article "Targums" of *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume* I, I have attempted to give some idea of this later development under various headings, such as: editions of texts, interrelationship of Targums, targumic Aramaic, Targum and Midrash, dating of Targums, the challenge to the early date of Targums from linguistic evidence, early Targums from Qumran, the insufficiency of circular reasoning when used as a criterion for dating. In the same essay, observations are made on these objections and on the utility of the Targums and, for New Testament Studies, of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch in particular. In an earlier work, *Targum and Testament* (Shannon 1972), I developed some points already treated in the present work and added other material on the bearing the Palestinian Targum has on the New Testament. The same work also contains an introduction to the individual Targums with special emphasis on the Targums to the Pentateuch and on the setting of the Targums in the liturgy of the synagogue. A good idea of the proliferation of Targum studies during the past decade can be found in Bernard GROSSFELD'S *A Bibliography of Targum Literature* (Cincinnati/New York 1972) with its 1054 entries. This is supplemented by M. KLEIN in *Biblica* 55 (1974) 281-85 and by A. DIEZ MACHO in *Ms. Neophyti 1, IV Numeros* (Madrid 1974) 11*-16*. Roger LE DÉAUT has contributed two major surveys: "The Current State of Targum Studies" and "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation", both in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4

(1974) 3-32 and 243-89. The interested student can keep abreast of the current developments in the field by aid of the entries in the *Newsletter for Targum Studies* (published by Victoria College, Toronto) which began in 1974, and in the relevant section of P. NOBER'S *Elenchus Bibliographicus.*

In this present Supplement my intention is to correct certain errors found in the original printing, to add information on major developments that have taken place in the field during the past decade and, finally, to make occasional comment on sections of the original printing. I wish to express my gratitude to the reviewers of the original for their criticisms and observations. It is only through such cooperation that positions can be changed or refined and progress made. This is particularly true in the field of targumic studies where reassessment is constantly called for.

In the course of this Supplement I shall follow the order of the pages of the work. I must begin, however, with the title: "The Palestinian Targum".

Some scholars have objected to the use of the singular form "Targum", when actually (in their view) there are several Palestinian Targums: TJI, TJII (in different recensions) and Neofiti (with its many variants, drawn presumably from other Palestinian Targums). Many scholars, in fact, now speak of Palestinian Targums to ("on" or "of") the Pentateuch, rather than of "the Palestinian Targum". In *Targum and Testament,* pp. 14f. I have argued that we can still retain the singular form "Targum", in view of the fact that the texts in question represent the same basic interpretative tradition. There is a family unity between them. We can consider, and speak of, the individual texts (Neofiti, TJII, etc.) as representatives of this Palestinian Targum. In my opinion, this particular point is of little importance. Whether we use the singular or the plural, students acquainted with the field of study will know what is intended.

A further objection raised against the title was that it does not altogether exactly describe the contents of the work, which treats of Targums other than those on the Pentateuch. The point is conceded. But, then, few titles are wholly exact, and in any event the title chosen can be justified by the axiom that *denominatio fit per potiorem partem.*

p. xvii, under WT: For *"Targumin"*, read *"Targumim"*.

p. xviii: For *"Biblia Polyglotta Matriensis ..."* read *"Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia ..."*.

p. xix: For "P. GRELOT, *Le sens chrétien ...*", read "P. GRELOT, *Sens chrétien ...*".

p. 7, II, lines 5f.: There is a copy of the *Pugio Fidei* in Marsh's Library, Dublin. The work was reprinted by Gregg in 1967.

p. 8, lines 7-11: All four Polyglot's are in Marsh's Library.

p. 8, note 8a: There is a copy of FAGIUS' work in Marsh's Library.

p. 9, n. 9: MERCIER's work, *Chaldaei translatio Abdiae* ... is in the British Museum; see the Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books.*

p. 10, n. 12: GÉNÉBRARD's work, *Joel Prophetae* ..., is in the BM; see *Catalogue*...

p. 10, n. 18: The third volume of GHISLERIUS' three-vol. work, *In Jeremiam Prophetam commentarii* ..., Lugduni, 1623, together with the Vulgate and Latin translation of the LXX, contains "Chaldaicae paraphrasis translatio in Threnos ex Biblia Regia ad Hebraicam Veritatem, ex Chaldaicis exemplaribus correcta, opera B. A. Montani" (*o.c.*, p. 8). This work is in Marsh's Library.

p. 11. n. 24: There is a copy of the work in Marsh's Library.

p. 11, n. 26: There is a copy of the 1541 Isny edition in Marsh's Library. This edition was reprinted by an anonymous publisher in Israel, *ca.* 1967; see M. KLEIN in *Biblica* 55 (1974) 284.

p. 12, n. 34: Marsh's Library has a copy of OWEN's work, under the title, Εισαγογή *ad legenda rabbinorum commentaria*, Paris, M. Iuuenis, 1563, without the translation of Targum Joel.

p. 13, n. 35: Both works of HELWICH are in the British Museum; see the Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books.*

p. 13, n. 36: Marsh's Library has a copy of an earlier edition: Θεολογουμενα παντοδαπα *sive de natura, ortu verae theologiae libri sex*, Oxford 1661. Both edd. are in the BM.

p. 13, n. 44: See also S. MUNSTERUS, *Messias. Christiani hominis cum Judaeo colloquium hebraice et latine*, Basle 1539.

p. 14, n. 46: LIGHTFOOT's works have been edited a number of times: first in 2 vols., folio, by BRIGHT and STRYPE in 1684; *Opera Omnia, cura Texelii*, Rotterdam 1686 (2. vols., folio); by LEUSDEN at Franeker in 1699 (3 vols., folio). The *Horae Hebr. et Talm.* were edited in Latin by CARPZOV (Leipzig 1675-79) and again in English by GANDELL (Oxford 1859). They are also found, in English, in the last volumes of the most complete edition of Lightfoot's works, that edited by J. R. PITMAN, *The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot* (13 vols., London 1822-25).

p. 17, n. 62: For "M. GASTER, 'Geniza Fragmente zu Dt (Targum jeruschalmi)' ... ed. A. BRAUN ..., pp. 222-24", read "M. GASTER, 'Geniza Fragmente', ... ed. A. BRANN ..., pp. 235-37" (with Geniza fragments of Targum Deut.; GASTER's essay, *o.c.*, pp. 222-44, deals with a variety of Geniza fragments, item V of which contains of the PT on Deuteronomy). The essay was reprinted in M. GASTER, *Studies and Texts*,

London 1928; reprint by Ktav, New York 1971), vol. 2, pp. 679-70; vol. 3, pp. 205-08 (item V, pp. 683f., 207f. respectively).

p. 17, n. 63: Add: An English translation of Tg Canticles 1,1 - 8,14 was published in Hermann GOLLANCZ, *Translations from Hebrew and Aramaic*, London 1908, pp. 15-90.

p. 17, n. 65: Add, S. COHN, *De Targumo Jobi disquisitio. Addita est appendix, in qua continentur nonnullae variae lectiones e cod. MS. a. 1258*, Schoerin 1867.

p. 18, n. 68: On Onkelos add, J. PERLES, *Meletemata Peschittoniana*, Wroclow 1859 (on Peshitta and Pentateuch); J. M. SCHOENFELDER, *Onkelos und Peschitto, Studium über das Alter des Onkeloschen Targums*, Munich 1869; J. PRAGER, *De versione quam Peschitto vocant*, Göttingen 1875; B. OPPENHEIM, *Die syrische Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen (Psalm 107-150), und ihr Verhältniss zu dem massoretischen Texte und den älteren Übersetzungen, namentlich den LXX, Targ*, Leipzig 1891; C. H. CORNILL, "Das Targum zu den Propheten", *ZAW* 7 (1887), 177-202; *id.*, in *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Leipzig 1886 (on the Peshitta and Tg Ezekiel); M. S. FRAENKEL, *Die syrische Uebersetzung zu den Büchern der Chronik* in *JfPT* 5 (1879) 508-36; 720-59. A. MANDL, *Die Peschitta zu Hiob nebst einem Anhang über ihr Verhältniss zu LXX und Targum*, Budapest 1892; H. PINKUSS, "Die syrische Uebersetzung der Proverbien textkritisch und in ihrem Verhältniss zu dem masoretischen Text, den LXX und dem Targum", *ZAW* 14 (1894) 65-141; 161-222.

p. 18, n. 73: Read "R. YOUNG, *Christology ...*" The work of A. NEUBAUER – S. R. DRIVER, *The Fifty-Third Chapter ...* has been re-edited by Ktav Publishing House, New York 1970.

p. 21, n. 90: BONSIRVEN did study the Tgs in his doctoral dissertation, "Eschatologie rabbinique d'après les Targums, Talmuds, Midraschs. Ses éléments communs avec le Nouveau Testament". Thèse presentée à la Commission Pontificale pour les Études Bibliques par Joseph Bonsirven, prêtre du diocèse d'Albi, Rome, 1910 (pp. xvi + 554). There is a copy of the manuscript work in the Library of the Biblical Institute, Rome.

p. 27, n. 133 and end of paragraph 1: With regard to the first attested occurrence of a saying within rabbinic tradition, the following remark of H. LOEWE, in his study on "The Dating of Rabbinic Material", should be kept in mind: "One must bear in mind that the date of a saying is that of the man who first uttered it, not of the transmitter who reported it, still less of the later editor who recorded it". As illustration he instances the saying "The Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath",

found as a logion of Jesus in Mark 2:27 and of Simeon b. Menasya (who lived *ca.* A.D. 180) in Mekilta *Ki Tissa'*, Shab. § 1; see *A Rabbinic Anthology*, selected with an Introduction by C. G. MONTEFIORE & H. LOEWE, Meridian Books and Jewish Publication Society, Cleveland and New York-Philadelphia 1963, p. 711.

p. 29, n. 146: SPERBER's work has now been completed: IVA. *The Hagiographa — Transition, from Translation to Midrash*, Leiden 1968; IVB: *Conclusions*: *The Targum and the Hebrew Bible*, Leiden 1973. In his review of the original publication C. T. FRITSCH (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26, 1969, 240) pointed out that Sperber's edition of Onkelos and the Former and Latter Prophets is not a critical one, based as it is on late MSS which represent both Babylonian and Yemenite elements. A new edition will be published in the Madrid Polyglot.

p. 29, n. 147: Four volumes of the *editio princeps* of Neofiti have already appeared, accompanied by extensive introductions by the editor A. DÍEZ MACHO and by the parallel passages from TJI by E. B. LEVINE: *Genesis*, 1968; *Exodus*, 1970; *Levitico*, 1971; *Numeros*, 1974. The final volume with Deuteronomy is in press. The work is published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid-Barcelona (Madrid alone for vol. IV). Together with the Aramaic text and glosses, there are three translations: Spanish by the editor, French by R. LE DÉAUT, and English by M. MAHER and the present writer.

p. 38, n. 1, 3rd line from end: For "A. ROBERTS" read "B. J. ROBERTS". More recent studies on the Tgs can be found in A. DÍEZ MACHO, "Targum", *Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, vol. 5, cols. 865-881; R. LE DÉAUT, *Introduction à la littérature targumique*, I, Rome 1966; J. BOWKER, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature. An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture*, Cambridge 1969; B. GROSSFELD, "Bible: Translations, Aramaic (Targumim)", *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 4, 1971, 841-51; M. MCNAMARA, *Targum and Testament*, Shannon 1972; G. VERMES and F. MILLER in the revised English translation of E. SCHÜRER's, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*, vol. I, Edinburgh 1973, pp. 99-114; A. DÍEZ MACHO, *El Targum*, Barcelona 1972, found in French in "Le Targum Palestinien", *Revue des sciences religieuses* 47 (1973) 169-231.

p. 40, II: In O and TJI Exod 4:16 Aaron is called Moses' מתורגמן; his תורגמן in Neofiti (the MT has 'mouth'). In Exod 7:1 O uses the same term as in Exod 4:16 to translate "prophet" (used of Aaron's relationship to Moses); TJI retains the Hebrew term; N renders as תרגמן.

pp. 42f., n. 13: A work of fundamental importance in the question of the cycle of synagogue readings has since come from the pen of C. PER-

ROT, *La lecture de la Bible dans la synagogue: Les anciennes lectures palestiniennes du Shabbat et des fêtes* (Collection Massorah, Études Classiques et Textes 1), Hildesheim 1973. PERROT's position is that select passages of the Torah were read before A.D. 70 in a septennial cycle, but that after the destruction of the temple a *lectio continua* was instituted in various three and three-and-a-half-year cycles beginning at Tishri. The triennial cycle to which scholars are accustomed appeared only at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. The linking of texts from the Prophets with those of the Torah, however, probably goes back to the second century B.C. There is, he believes, no valid reason to assume a total discontinuity between the sabbath readings before and after A.D. 70, and Is. 61:1ff. seems to have been connected with Gen 35:9ff. before Jesus' day; cf. Lk 4,16-20 and C. PERROT, "Luc 4,16-30 et la lecture biblique de l'ancienne Synagogue", *Revue des sciences religieuses* 47 (1973) 324-40. J. HEINEMANN, "The Triennial Lectionary Cycle", *JJS* 19 (1968) 41-48, makes similar observations: there was no single, generally-accepted Sabbath lectionary in use in the first century and all assertions regarding the particular reading of any particular weekly portion at fixed times of the year entirely unfounded speculation. "There is consequently no justification at all for interpreting New Testament sermons in the light of the weekly pericopes supposedly read at the given (or inferred) dates on which such sermons were preached" (*ibid.*, p. 46). HEINEMANN's position is wholeheartedly endorsed by R. LOEWE in his Prolegomenon to the reprint (p. 20) of A. NEUBAUER – S. R. DRIVER, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, vol. II, Ktav, 1969. Notwithstanding these studies, works on the relationship of the Gospels to the Jewish lectionary continue to appear, e.g. M. D. GOULDER, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, London 1972, claiming that the First Gospel was written to provide suitable Christian reading corresponding to the reading for every week of the Jewish year.

p. 46, line 16: For "Nm 16,24-26" read "Nm 6,24-26".

p. 46, n. 25: TJI also leaves untranslated the blessing proper of Nm 6,23 (ed. WALTON). Mishnah, *Sota* 7,2 (Eng. trans. Danby, p. 200) lists a number of texts which must be said 'in the Holy Language', including Nm 6,24-26. From the context of *Sota* (7,2-9) it appears the use of the original Hebrew in these texts was restricted to the specific occasions to which the passages refer, not to their occurrence in the synagogue readings. With the exception of the Blessing of the Priests they are all translated in the Targums.

p. 47, n. 26 end: In the preparation of *Targum and Testament* I compared the PT citations of LEVITA found in the printed edition of the *Meturgeman* and in the first half of the Rome MS, Angelica Library Rome (MS Or. 84 [A 6,6]), completed A.D. 1531. The examination led me to conclude that LEVITA could scarcely have known Neofiti, since there are too many differences in the PT as cited by LEVITA and as found in Neofiti; cf. *Targum and Testament*, p. 185. Later, R. GRIÑO studied eighty-nine examples of PT citations from Genesis in the Meturgeman and on the basis of these gives four hypotheses (not mutually exclusive) on the relationship of ELIAS LEVITA and Neofiti. The first is that LEVITA knew directly our actual text of Neofiti (cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, *MS. Neophyti 1*, vol. II, *Éxodo*, p. 29*). DÍEZ MACHO (loc. cit.) prefers GRIÑO's third hypothesis, viz. that ELIAS knew directly a text very similar to the actual text of Neofiti. M. KLEIN (*Biblica* 56, 1975, 242-46) has made a special study of ELIAS' relation to Neofiti and has instanced eighteen Yerushalmi (= PT) citations in the Meturgeman which do not agree with Neofiti. Together with this he notes that in the Meturgeman (ed. Isny, 157b) we have a PT citation from Gen 38,18, which ELIAS says he found in the *Aruk* and which he searched for in Targum Yerushalmi but did not find it. The text LEVITA sought for in vain in Yerushalmi actually occurs twice in Neofiti (Gen 38,18.25). LEVITA in the Meturgeman (129a) also cites PT Dt 21,12 from the *Aruk*, saying that he did not find it in the printed text of Targum Yerushalmi (i.e. the Fragment Targum, ed. 1517-18; 1524-25). The *Aruk* text LEVITA cites is similar to, but not identical with, that of Neofiti. KLEIN concludes that "not only did LEVITA not have a hand in the writing of Codex Neofiti 1, but he seems to have had little access, or none at all, to MS. Neofiti 1 during the compilation of the *Meturgeman*" (*o.c.*, p. 244). More light may be shed on the question when R. GRIÑO publishes his doctoral dissertation (compiled under the supervision of A. DÍEZ MACHO): "El Meturgeman de Elías LEVITA: Estudio comparativo de sus dos versiones: MS. de la Angélica 6:6 y Edición de Isny"; cf. also R. GRIÑO, "Importancia del *Meturgeman* de Elías LEVITA y del MS. Angélica 6-6 par el estudio del mismo", *Sefarad* 31 (1971) 353-61.

p. 50, first Aramaic citation: In Neofiti Lev 20, 2-4 similar expressions occur:

(v. 2) די יתן מן בנוי למעברה קדם פלחנה נכרייה.
(v. 3) מן בנוי יהב למעברה בנורא קדם פלחנה נכריה.
(v. 4) כד יתן מן זרעית בנוי למעברה בנורא קדם פלחנה נכריה.

p. 51, n. 34: A. BAUMSTARK had earlier treated of the problem in "Wege zum Judentum des neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", *BZ* 4 (1927) 30-43 and in "Peššiṭta und palästinischen Targum", *BZ* 4 (1927) 257-70

p. 54, line 24: "raised in prayer"; cf. also N Exod 17,12: "The hands of Moses were raised in prayer" (the same Aramaic words; MT: "the hands of Moses were heavy"). On this and other "whitewashing" translations in the Tgs, see further below in "Supplement" to p. 63.

p. 54, no. 5: The PT paraphrase of Gn 25,3 may well be faithful to the meaning originally intended. E. F. CAMPBELL Jr and G. E. WEIGHT observe that the names in the MT "look more like designations of professions than like clan names" (*BA* 32, 1969, 114, n. 16).

p. 55, n. 38: For Jerome and PT Gn 25,3 see also W. BACHER, *Die Agada der palästinischen Amoräer*, vol. I, Strasbourg 1892, pp. 503f., n. 5, who gives the text as edited by Grätz ("Haggadische Elemente bei den Kirchenvätern"), *MGWJ* 3 (1854) 385, in which text correct φύλαροι. We may also note that חשב of the MT is rendered by המין (variously written) in O, TJI, N Ex 28,8.27f.; 39,5.20f. and Lev 8,7.

p. 55, n. 39: The text in Vat. Ebr. 30 (fol. 97b, line 21) reads: אף על גב דהינון מתרגמין ואמרין תגרין ולומפרין וראשי אומין כולהם ראשי אומנותיהן. This text is not reproduced in M. BARTH, *An Analysis of Vatican 30*, Cincinnati – New York – Los Angeles – Jerusalem 1973.

p. 56, line 9: For "דדיבוניה" read "דריבוניה".

pp. 60-63: In *Targum and Testament* I have given an introduction to all the Targums, with special treatment of those on the Pentateuch. A special chapter is devoted to the geography of Neofiti (pp. 190-205) in which I omit mention of the Shalmaites which is the identification of Kenite(s) in Tgs Gn 15,19; Nm 10,29; 24,21f.; Jud 4,11.17; 1 Sam 15,6; 27,10; 30,29. The Shalmaites are linked with the Nabataeans in Rabbinic sources: p *Shibut* 6,36b,46 (by R. Juda, ca. A.D. 150; Str.-B. IV, p. 899, note o), p *Kidd.* 1,61d,8; *Bab. Bathra* 56a,13 (a baraitha of R. Meir, ca. A.D. 150 through R. Yehudah [died 299] and R. Samuel [died 254]); *Gen. Rabba* 44,29b (on Gn 15,19; Rabbi, ca. A.D. 150; Str.-B. IV, 899; II, p. 724). The are mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 6,30 § 118) who links them with Arabs. They are mentioned (in the form שלמו) in Nabataean inscriptions, e.g. Hauran, Hegra 197,9; 199,4 (from A.D. 5; in J. CANTINEAU, *Le Nataṭéen*, vol. II, Paris 1932, p. 29, who notes that they are an Arab tribe allied to the Nabataeans and are mentioned as such by Stephen of Byzantium, sixth cent. A.D.). In order to set the Targums in context, *Targum and Testament* has a preliminary chapter on "Ancient Jewish Writings". This is followed by a section on the formation of tar-

gumic tradition which treats of the development of doctrine in Judaism, the Law in post-exilic Judaism, including the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, the text of the Pentateuch in post-exilic Judaism as now known from Qumran; the laws underlying post-exilic exegesis. There is a chapter on the Synagogue and synagogue worship, on the Scripture readings in the synagogues and on the Palestinian cycle of Scripture readings. The homily in the synagogue service is also treated, as well as the vexed question of the date to be assigned to the specifically "Galilean" Aramaic found in the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. This form of Aramaic is reckoned by some (specially by scholars of Qumran Aramaic) as "late", post-A.D. 200 at the earliest. A summary of these views can be seen in the article on "Targums" in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume.* A fuller treatment can be found in the essay "The Spoken Aramaic of Palestine in the First Century A.D." (published in *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*, vol. 2, Dominican Publications, Dublin). In *Targum and Testament* I have also treated of the origin and transmission of the Palestinian Targum. These are two points to which, I believe, greater attention must be paid. The interpretative exegetical tradition may have arisen independently of the synagogue and in scribal circles. The slightly variant formulation of the PT may be explained through dependence on this interpretative rendering. One would naturally presume that the interpretative tradition was formed in Judea and Jerusalem, not in Galilee. The date to be assigned to the "Galilean" form of the tradition, found in the PT in "Galilean" Aramaic cannot be divorced from the history of Judaism in post-exilic Galilee. There are historical indications that Galilee was Judaized only at the end of the second century B.C. Two doctoral dissertations have propounded the view that the PT is actually a late translation from the Greek, not from the Hebrew (cf. A. DÍEZ MACHO, *MS. Neophyti 1*, vol. III, pp. 56*-59*), the Greek translation being possibly dependent on an earlier Jewish one. Immediate translation from the Greek is highly improbable, but the dependence on an earlier exegetical tradition may well be right.

p. 63, lines 7-16: The validity of the inference from the preceding examination to the effect that the present recension of Neofiti is from talmudic times has been queried by some reviewers, e.g. A. DÍEZ MACHO, P. GRELOT, G. VERMES, who contend that these rules may have been older than the Mishnah. D. GOODING has shown that the process of "whitewashing" the elders of Israel is already present in the LXX; cf. "Ahab according to the LXX", *ZAW* 76 (1964) 269-80; "The Septuagint's Rival Versions of Jeroboam's Rise to Power", *VT* 17 (1967) 173-89. In the

light of this evidence, in *Targum and Testament* (pp. 33f.) I have changed my opinion on the bearing of these texts on the date of our present recension of Neofiti.

p. 71, Greek citation; lines 1, 4f.: For "δὲ" read "δὲ"; for "ῥημά", "ῥήμα" read "ῥῆμά", "ῥῆμα".

p. 75, nº. 4, lines 4-7 and note 17: J. FITZMYER, in his review in *Theological Studies* 29 (1968) 325, objects to my identification of "the depths of the Great Sea" of PT, Dt 30,12 with "the abyss" (the term used by Paul). His criticism may well be justified. My understanding of "the Great Sea" of the paraphrase of Dt 30,12, however, is confirmed by other PT texts. Thus, for instance, in Nm 34,6 'the Great Sea' of the MT (הים הגדול) is identified in Neofiti's paraphrase as "the Great Sea, the Ocean; these are the waters of the beginning (or: "of creation"): ימה רבה אוקיינוס אינון מי בראשית. The primordial abyss is surely intended. The marginal gloss on the passage in Neofiti has a similar paraphrase: "(the) primordial (waters) that are within it; these are the waters of the beginning (or: "of creation"): קדמייה דאית בגוה הנון מיה בראשית. TJII is practically identical with Ngl. TJI on the verse has a similar paraphrase: "And the western border; and you shall have the Great Sea, the Ocean and its border; these are the waters of the beginning (or: "of creation") with the primordial waters that were within it": ימה רבה אוקיינוס ותחומיה הינון מי בראשית... עם מיא קדמאין דהוו בגויה. There is a similar passage in TJI Dt 11,24, where the MT has "the Latter Sea" (הים האחרון): "to the sea of the Ocean; these are the waters of the beginning" (or "of creation"). Some rabbinic parallels are noted by E. LEVINE in *MS. Neophyti 1*, vol. IV, p. 706. On the midrash and its use by Paul see now A.M. GOLDBERG, "Torah aus der Unterwelt? Eine Bemerkung zu Röm 10,6-7", *BZ* NF 14 (1970) 127-31, who believes that the underworld or abyss is intended in the PT text. He also believes that the paraphrase if probably an intentional polemic against Jewish mystics or apocalypticists. There may be a similar intention present in Paul's use of the text in the Epistle to the Romans.

p. 76, lines 4, 16-18: The phrase "bow down the heavens" (נטה שמים) is found in the MT (Ps. 18,10, in qal; Ps 144,5, in Hiphil; cf. also Is 63,19b: "rend [קרע] the heavens", rendered "Bow down" [ארכינתא] in the Tg). In *Stromata* 5,1 (*PG* 9,20), with reference to Gn 15,5, Clement of Alexandria speaks of Abram looking up to heaven and seeing its wondrous order. Clement may have known some tradition similar to that of the PT. The similarity of terminology I note in the dissertation scarcely proves or argues strongly for a New Testament date for the PT passages. On the theophany genre and terminology in the NT, PT and other texts see now

F. LENTZEN-DEIS, *Die Taufe Jesu nach den Synoptikern. Literarkritische und gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt on Main 1970; *id.* "Das Motiv der 'Himmelsöffnung' in verschiedenen Gattungen der Umweltliteratur des Neuen Testaments", *Biblica* 50 (1969), 301-27.

p. 81, n. 27a, line 7: For "A. ROBERTS" read "B. J. ROBERTS".

pp. 84f.: The presence and form of the names Jannes and Jambres were already noted in the seventeenth century. In *Prolegomena* XII, no. 11, to the London Polyglot (vol. VI, 1657, reprint 1965, p. 88) Brian WALTON rejects the opinion that they prove the ancient character of TJI. K. KOCH, in his essay "Das Lamm, das Ägypten vernichtet. Ein Fragment aus Jannes und Jambres und sein geschichtlicher Hintergrund", *ZNW* 57 (1966) 79-93, expresses the opinion that the text of TJI Ex 1,15 appears to be an interpolation. In his view a study of the pericope's genre and apocalyptic traits indicates that the fragment belongs to a lost apocalyptic historical account written in Aramaic. Likewise, in his opinion, the Tg references to Jannes and Jambres (Ex 7,11; Nm 22,22) point to an interpolated fragment. C. BURCHARD, "Das Lamm in der Waagschale: Herkunf und Hintergrund eines haggadischen Midraschs zu Ex. 1:15-22", *ZNW* 57 (1966) 219-228, denies Koch's contention and maintains that the story is actually a simple haggadic midrash on a single biblical passage. In his review of the original printing (*Biblica* 48, 1967, 303) P. GRELOT noted that "L'étude linguistique des passages cités montre le caractère ancien de la langue, homogène au reste du TP". A Latin-Anglo-Saxon fragment of the apocryphal *Book of Jannes and Jambres* is extant in MS. Cotton Tiberius B V of the British Museum; ed. M. R. JAMES "A Fragment of the 'Penance of Jannes and Jambres' ", in *JTS* 2 (1901) 572-77; *id.*, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, London, 1920, pp. 33-38; cf. also F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1940, no. 89, 13 (wrongly printed as 29,13), p. 54. Fragments of seven folios of the Greek text this work, as yet unpublished, are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; cf. *The Irish Theological Quarterly* 41 (1974) 317. No date is assigned to the Greek fragments but they are known to represent the work known in the Anglo-Saxon translation. They may well be the apocryphal work referred to by Origen (*Contra Celsum* IV, 51; ed. Koetschau, vol. I, p. 324,27) as τὴν περὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰαννου καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ ἱστορίαν.

p. 85, Aramaic text, line 3: For "יניד" read "יניס".

p. 89: See above to pp. 84f., end.

p. 90, n. 44: John CHRYSTOSTOM (PG 62, 644), says Paul came to know the names from tradition or through inspiration. The Old-Irish

gloss (ca. A.D. 750) on the text in the Würzburg Codex of St Paul (fol. 30c17) thus comments on the two names: "Two Egyptian wizards who had been contending with Moses, and the Law records them not, but his own tradition, for he was skilled in the whole Old Testament" (ed. W. STOKES and J. STRACHAN, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, I, Oxford, 1901, reprint Dublin 1975, p. 695).

p. 102, n. 14: For *Bandahis* read *Bundahišn*; see Index.

p. 107, Aramaic text, lines 2-3: For "כסעדכן", "כסעדכו" read "בסעדכן".

p. 108, n. 35: Add at end: Cf. also, W. F. ALBRIGHT, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, ed. 2, Doubleday Anchor Books, New York 1957, p. 259: "Many different meanings have been attributed to *Yahweh* by scholars who recognise its relative antiquity, but only one yields any suitable sense: 'He causes to be'"; see also *ibid.*, p. 261.

p. 115, n. 61: See also R. MEYER, "Melchisedek von Jerusalem und Moresedek von Qumran", *VTS* 15 (1966) 228-39.

pp. 118-125: On targumic texts on "the second death" see now S. SPEIER, "Sieben Stellen des Psalmen-Targum in Handschriften", *Biblica* 48 (1967) 491-508 (494-99 for texts on "the second death").

p. 130: For the interpretation of Gn 9,6 see also *The Testament of Abraham* 13, ed. G. H. BOX, London 1927, p. 21: "For God has said: I judge you not, but every man shall by man be judged". BOX (*ibid.*, note 1) refers us to the interpretation of the verse in the PT. The origin and date of the *Testament of Abraham* are debated. Some scholars date the original to the second century A.D.; others to the first. Some consider the original to have been Jewish; others defend a Christian origin.

p. 132, before second Aramaic text: For "f. 192a" read "f. 191b, lines 3-4". The corresponding curse is ליט ביזה דהכדן יזק (*Gen. Rabba* 5,9; *Kil.* 1,7 [3a]): "Cursed be the breast that nourished that one" (cf. H. ODEBERG, *The Aramaic Portions of Bereshit Rabba*, I, p. 128). Both expressions were probably current and direct dependence of the saying in Lk 11,29 on the PT is improbable.

p. 138, n. 38: It must be observed, however, that literal, non-paraphrastic translations of the MT are also introduced by the words: "My people, children of Israel", e.g. Ex 22,17. 21.27; cf. also JOSEPHUS, *JA* 4,8,2 § 120, where Moses is made to address the Israelites as "O children of Israel".

pp. 145-149: To the instances of אסתלק in the sense of "to die" we can add TJII Dt 6,4. I have further developed the argument of this section in "The Ascension and the Exaltation of Christ in the Fourth Gospel", *Scripture* 19 (1967) 65-73, in which study the terms ὑψοῦν, ὑψωθῆναι of

John are connected with ἀνάλημψις of Lk 9,51 and with other texts. The term ἀνάλημψις is used in the sense of "death" in the *Psalms of Solomon* 4,20, and *receptio* of the *Assumptio Mosis* 10,12 may have the same meaning (*art. cit.*, pp. 69f. and n. 16). It is possible that we have a further instance of "being taken up" = "to die" in the *Gospel of Peter*, Fragment I, 1,19: "And the Lord cried out saying, 'My power, *my* power [= *Heli, Heli* of Mt 27,46?], thou hast forsaken me'. And when he so said, he was taken up". The possibility that this is so is now admitted by Chr. MAURER in *The New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. I, ed. E. HENNECKE and W. SCHNEEMELCHER, Eng. trans. by R. McL. WILSON, London 1963, p. 181; see also *Targum and Testament*, p. 130, n. 11.

p. 157-59: S. ISENBERG, "An Anti-Sadducee Polemic in the Palestinian Targum Tradition", *HTR* 63 (1970) 433-44, believes that PT Gn 3,7-10 contains a polemic against the Sadducees and that it can consequently be dated ante-A.D. 70. See also A. J. BRAUER, "The Debate between a Sadducee and a Pharisee in the Mouths of Cain and Abel", *Beth Mikra* 44 (1971) 583-85. On the other hand, E. LEVINE, "Some Characteristics of Pseudo-Jonathan Targum to Genesis", *Augustinianum* 11 (1971) 89-103, esp. 93f., is of the opinion that the polemic is anti-Marcionite.

p. 162, Aramaic citation, line 3: For "וקטלתך" read "דקטלתך".

p. 165, n. 31: For "*JBL* 65 (1946) 38-965" read "*JBL* 65 (1964) 389-96".

pp. 168-188: Certain aspects of this section have been further developed in *Targum and Testament*, pp. 107-114.

p. 171, line 2: The Aramaic term חרות, "freedom" occurs frequently in the PT; it is already attested as an Aramaic word in the coins and deeds of sale of the Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 132-135): לחרות ישראל; cf. G. A. COOKE, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, p. 358; *DJD* II, 1961, *pp. 122, 135*: Murabba'at 23,1,3; 25,1,1; לחרות ירושלם (in the second occurrence).

p. 171, line 21: For "NT" read "MT".

p. 172, last Aramaic text, line 1: For "מא" read "לא".

p. 176, lines 5-4 from end: The expression ביד רמה, of course, literally means "with a high hand" and is so rendered in the RSV Nm 15,30 where sin committed "with a high hand" is contrasted with sins unwittingly committed (15,27). In Ex 14,8 the RSV renders as "defiantly" and as "triumphantly" in Nm 33,3 (both referring to the Exodus).

p. 178, line 18: For "δε εἂν" read "δὲ ἐὰν".

p. 180, third line from end: For "in a perfect heart" read "in a perfect heart before the Lord".

p. 184, Aramaic text and translation: In his review of the original printing G. VERMES (*JSS* 14, 1969, p. 132) remarks that he is unable to recall any instance in the language of the PT where, without further specification such as *rwḥ' dqdš'*, *rwḥ' dnbywt'*, etc., *rwḥ'* signifies anything but "wind", "a meaning quite possible in the present context". The presence of דבירא at the end of the same text, and of דבירה instead of רוחא in N Nm 7,89 argue against this understanding of the term in the text in question. For the use of the expression "Holy Spirit" in Tannaitic and Amoraic literature see W. BACHER, *Die exegetische Terminologie ...*, *s.v.* For further literature on the Holy Spirit in Judaism, especially in the Targums, see A. DÍEZ MACHO, *art. cit.*, supra (in Bibliog.), p. xxii; J. P. SCHÄFER, "Die Termini 'Heiliger Geist' und 'Geist der Prophetie' in den Targumim und das Verhältniss der Targumim zueinander", *VT* 20 (1970) 304-14 (apparently portion of his doctoral dissertation "Untersuchungen zur Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur", Fribourg 1968); A. DÍEZ MACHO, "Relación de los Targumim deducida del uso de las expresiones 'Espíritu Santo' y 'Espíritu de Profecía'", *Neophyti I*, vol. III, 1971, pp. 52*-55*; *id.*, "Espíritu Santo - *ruḥa de-qudša*", *Neophyti 1*, vol. IV, 1974, pp. 43*-47*, 31*f.; A. A. DE LA FUENTE, "El Espíritu Santo en la literatura targúmica" (doctoral dissertation in progress at Biblical Institute Rome; cf. *Newsletter for Targum Studies* 1:2, June 1974, p. 3); see also *Targum and Testament*, pp. 107-113.

p. 185, n. 98: G. DALMAN (*The Words of Jesus ...*, Eng. trans., Edinburg 1902, p. 230) also believed that the term דברא is introduced into the Tgs from the schools, but (unlike Str.-B.) thought that Jesus may have been acquainted with both this term and the term Memra but that no necessity of using them presented itself (*Words*, p. 231). Reviewing the original work F. DREYFUS (*RB* 77, 1970, p. 139, note 1) remarked that the text of TJI Nm 7,89 is interesting, but the presence of the term *debîra'* disquieting. A reference to an earlier text, he remarks, would be preferable to the rejection of Billerbeck's opinion of its third-century origin. The term occurs in Hebrew in the form *Dibber* in Tannaitic sources (pre-third century!) and the texts are collected by BACHER, *Terminologie* I, p. 19 (in the specific sense of "Gottesrede, Offenbarung"; he notes only a single occurrence of *Dibbûr* in this specific sense from Tannaitic times). The form of the same technical term in Amoraic sources is *Dibbûr* (texts in BACHER, *Terminologie* II, p. 37). In Neofiti the form is always the earlier one *Dibbêra*; in the other representatives of the PT almost always *Dibbûra*, except when one of the Ten Words (Commandments) is intended; see further *Targum and Testament*, p. 108. The question of the antiquity

of this and like terms is raised by J. FITZMYER in another context. The term מאמר occurs twice in 11QtgJob (col. 28,9, Job 36,32; col. 33,8-9, Job 39,27), clearly in the sense of "command" in the latter instance and possibly also in the former. He remarks that "it is never found in the sense of a buffer, a means to safeguard the transcendence of Yahweh, when some creative, sustaining, or revelatory activity of his is described" (*CBQ* 36, 1974, 517). The only place where the surrogate *šᵉkinta'* (the divine Presence, or Shekinah) is found in the traditionally known Tg of Job in a passage corresponding to those extant in 11QtgJob is at Job 34,49. The Qumran Tg, however, does not use the term. In FITZMYER's view this raises the real question about the antiquity of such surrogates in the targumic tradition. While granting that the evidence of the Qumran targum is negative, he notes that it does have a bearing on the whole question of whether such ideas as *šᵉkinta'* or *mêmra'* were current among Jews of first-century Palestine and whether they really may be invoked for the explanation of New Testament passages (*CBQ* 36, 1974, 518; *id.*, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament", *NTS* 20, 1974, 382-407, esp. 394-96). With regard to this position it must be observed that we cannot presume that Qumran evidence holds good for all forms of Palestinian Judaism of the period. It still remains to be proved that *liturgical* Tgs, for synagogue use, were of the kind used in Qumran. Neither need we presume that the religious concepts and phraseology of Pharisaic or liturgical Judaism are reflected in the Qumran texts. The absence in the Qumran texts of such terms as *Memra* and *Shekinah* in the specific sense they bear in the Tgs is no indication that such terms were not early used with a technical meaning. The question of the antiquity of such terms in their specific sense they have in the Tgs requires further study, which is in fact currently being devoted to it. I may mention the following: W. E. AUFRECHT, "Surrogates for God in the Palestinian Targumim to the Pentateuch" (doctoral dissertation in progress; cf. *Newsletter for Targum Studies* 1:1, January 1974, p. 3); on *Memra*: D. MUÑOZ, "Appéndice sobre el Memra de Yahweh en el MS Neophyti I", in A. DÍEZ MACHO, *MS. Neophyti I*, vol. III, 1971, pp. 70*-83*; R. HAYWARD, "The *Memra* of YHWH and the Development of its Use in Targum Neofiti I", *JJS* 25 (1974) 412-18; C. T. R. HAYWARD, "The Use of the Term *Memra* in Targum Neofiti I" (doctoral dissertation in progress, Oxford University; cf. *Newsletter for Targum Studies* 1:2, June 1974, p. 3); D. MUÑOZ LEÓN, *Dios-Palabra. Memra en los Targumim del Pentateuco*, Granada 1974 (first part of his doctoral dissertation); L. SABOURIN, "The *Memra* of God in the Targums", *Biblical Theology Bul-*

letin 6 (1976) 79-85 (presentation of MUÑOZ LEÓN's work); R. LE DÉAUT in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974) 266-69; on *Shekinah*: F. C. BURKITT, "Memra, Shekina, Metaron", *JTS* 24 (1923) 158f.; A. M. GOLDBERG, "Die spezifische Verwendung des Terminus Schekhinah im Targum Onkelos als Kriterium einer relativen Datierung", *Judaica* 19 (1963) 43-61; *id., Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur* (Studia Judaica, ed. E. L. EHRLICH), Berlin 1969; A. DIEZ MACHO, "La datación del TargPal: La Šekiná de Yahweh", in *MS. Neophyti I*, vol. II, 1970, pp. 49*-55*; D. MUÑOZ LEÓN, *La gloria de la Shekiná en los Targumim del Pentateuco* (forthcoming; cf. SABOURIN, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4, 1974, 85; MUÑOZ LEÓN's third volume will be on "The Word and Glory in St John", cf. *ibid.*).

p. 199, n. 35, line 6: For "De Cerf's ed." read "Les Éditions du Cerf".

p. 216, n. 75: To the targumic texts we may add N Nm 23,22; 24,8: "To the God who brought them (i.e. Israel) redeemed out of Egypt belong strength and praise and exaltation", תוקפא (תקפה) ותושבחתה ורוממותה דידה אינון; likewise N Dt 26,3: At the Passover Israel said: "We give thanks and praise this day before the Lord our God" (אודינן ושבחינן יומה הדין קדם יי אלהן). The text of *Jubilees* 49,6 also merits attention; speaking of the first Passover it says: "And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb and drinking the wine, and lauding and blessing and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt and from the evil bondage" (in Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha II*, p. 80).

p. 219, n. 88: To these texts we may add N Ex 33,1: "לברך I will give it" (i.e., the land of Canaan), where apparently the plural ("your sons") is intended; Ngl interlinear has לבניך, "to your sons"; Ngl margin, "to the descendants of your sons" (בניכון). The *editio princeps* renders the text as singular ("to your son", etc.). In Ngl Ex 4,23 we have בריי, which can only be rendered as "my sons". The pl. cons. ברי is found on an ossuary from Wadi Beit Sabour near Jerusalem (J. B. FREY, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, vol. II, Vatican City - Rome 1952, no. 1352b, p. 305): בר קלון ברי ישבאב: "fils de Qallon, de la descendance de Yeshebab". We have here probably a genuine old form (1st cent. B.C. – 1st cent. A.D.), not a scribal error for בני.

p. 222, line 2: For "Ap 3,17" read "Ap 12,17".

p. 225, n. 109: See also J. DANIÉLOU, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Tournai 1958, p. 243, with reference to *The Blessings of Isaac and Jacob* (*Patrologie orientale* XXVII, 3).

p. 227-30: This section is further developed in *Targum and Testament*, pp. 148-59, including a study of Is 61,6 and *Jubilees* 16,18. In the Ethiopic text of Jubilees, translated by CHARLES (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* II, p. 38), Ex 19,6 appears as "a kingdom and priests and a holy nation"; the Latin rendering has *regnum sacerdotale*, probably dependent on the Vulgate. For the interpretation of the Hebrew text of Ex 19,6 see now B. S. CHILDS, *Exodus* (Old Testament Library), London 1974; esp. pp. 342, 367, with bibliography p. 340.

p. 228, fourth Aramaic text: E. LEVINE (*MS. Neophyti I*, vol. III, p. 451) translates מלכין קטירי כלילא as "kings, sacrificers of the crown", as if from I, קטר. This gives poor sense, and it is better to render through II, קטר: "to bind", "to tie"; cf. Tg Esther 1,3: קטירי תגי ברישיהון which J. LEVY (*WT* II, p. 356 *s.v.*) renders: "diejenigen, welche Kronen um ihre Häupter banden". In Hebrew the word is used in the sense of "to wreathe", "to tie", e.g. *Gen. Rabba* s. 61: "she wreathed [קטרה] (made a crown of) godly deeds &c." (M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim ... and Midrashic Literature*, New York 1950, p. 1352, *s.v.*).

p. 235, n. 129, line 3: For "Καθζιειν" read "Καθίζειν".

p. 236, lines 3f. from end: For "a burning", "a flame" read "the burning", "the flame" respectively.

pp. 238f., n. 1, end: See now S. H. LEVEY, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation: The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum*, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati-New York-Los Angeles-Jerusalem 1974 (with the critical review by R. LE DÉAUT in *Biblica* 56, 1975, 421-24; cf. also J. FITZMYER in *JBL* 94, 1975, 473-77); M. PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ, "El tema mesiánico en el Targum Palestinense: Estudios exegéticos" (Dissertation, Madrid 1975, with A. Díez Macho as supervisor; cf. *Newsletter for Targum Studies* 2:3, October 1975, p. 4).

p. 240, line 2: For "l'apologetique" and "des" read "l'apologétique" and "dès" respectively.

p. 248, n. 28: For "pp. 275-77" read "pp. 175-77".

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